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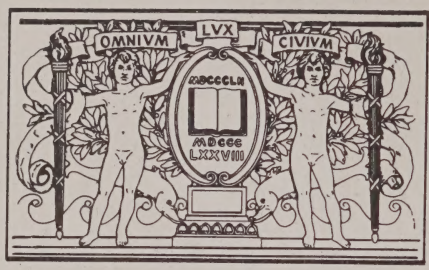

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CXIV.

JANUARY, 1842.

ART. I. — 1. *Remarks of* MR. EVERETT *of Vermont on the Motion to add to the Army Bill an Appropriation of Three Hundred Thousand Dollars, for the Suppression of Indian Hostilities.* House of Representatives, July 14th, 1840. ["National Intelligencer," March 30th, 1841.]

2. *Letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the Information required by the Resolution of the House of Representatives of the 7th of July last, in Relation to the Amount of Expenditure in suppressing Indian Hostilities in Florida, &c.* Document No. 8. 26th Congress, 2d Session, House of Representatives, War Department. 8vo. pp. 16.

THE contest, which has been going on in Florida during the last six years, has naturally attracted much attention. It is, indeed, a most remarkable war, and will hereafter be regarded as one of the most successful struggles which history exhibits, of a barbarous, weak, and almost destitute people, with a civilized, strong, and abundantly provided nation. The public has been in a constant state of surprise at its continuance, having been led, season after season, to anticipate its successful conclusion, without being able to account for the disappointment that has as often ensued. The insignificance of the enemy, and the ample means pro-

vided to subdue him, have alone been generally within the common view ; while the peculiar character of the country, and the admirable adroitness with which the Indians avail themselves of it, have been little comprehended or regarded. Nor have this impatience and misapprehension been confined to the public mind. The government has fully shared in them, having often evinced, by its orders and measures, a confidence of expectation which experience has not warranted.

It is well, therefore, at this late stage of the contest, when both the public and the government have become more sober and patient in their feelings on the subject, to take a brief review of its origin and progress. The page of history might be marked by much exaggeration and misstatement, if it were left to be filled up by the representations and opinions that have generally prevailed.

We have selected, for reference, the speech of Mr. Everett of Vermont, as presenting as succinct and fair an account of the treaty which opened the way to this memorable war, as any document within our reach. Mr. Everett took a leading part in the debates on this treaty, when some appropriation in connexion with it introduced the subject to Congress. No member of that body, probably, became more thoroughly acquainted with all the facts of the case. We may, therefore, place reliance on the statement of them which he makes in this speech.

Colonel Gadsden's treaty with the Florida Indians was made in 1832. These Indians were not generally inclined to change their residence, having always manifested reluctance to open negotiations which had such a proceeding in view. They were, however, persuaded to meet the United States' commissioner at "Payne's Landing," and there consented, through their principal chiefs, with all the usual sanctions, to an arrangement which had their emigration for its ultimate object. The principal article in this arrangement was, that a delegation from the tribes should visit the country proposed to be occupied, and determine upon its eligibility. Thus far the steps taken appear to have encountered no obstacle. All proceedings were in harmony and good faith, though even then difficulties were likely to arise. The terms of the treaty required that one third of the Indians should remove during the following year, that is, in 1833. Now, as the

delegation did not visit the country beyond the Mississippi until the close of that year, its fulfilment in this respect became impracticable even before its ratification.

This delegation, it is generally admitted, was satisfied with the new region, but, according to Mr. Everett's statement, objected to the conduct of the Creeks there, with whom, according to the terms of the treaty, the Florida Indians were to reunite. It had escaped our memory that so much importance was attached in this case to the difference between the words *unite* and *reunite*, and we should hardly have supposed that an uncivilized race of men would have caught the nice distinction, or discerned the foreshadowing of any important consequences from the substitution, by the Creeks, of the former for the latter word. In this instance, however, according to Mr. Everett, there was involved in the omission of the small prefix *re* a large pecuniary responsibility, which fell on the Florida Indians in common with the Creeks, provided the former united with the latter, or both became one tribe, but from which they escaped by merely *reuniting*, the latter mode of association being understood to leave the Florida Indians with such "state rights," as admitted a common government, but made them independent in other respects.* Whether this quibbling of the Creeks, which threatened the security of a valuable portion of the Seminole property, dissatisfied the Florida Indians at the return of the delegation, or whether the dissatisfaction arose from the undertaking, on the part of that delegation, while on the other side of the Mississippi, to perform an act, which was deemed a fulfilment of the treaty without further reference to the nation, there is no doubt of the fact, that this dissatisfaction was deep, extensive, and extending. The tribes at home gener-

* Says Mr. Everett; "The Creeks, by a former treaty, concluded when the Seminoles were a separate band of that nation, paid to the State of Georgia $250,000 for negroes which the Creeks (including the Seminoles) had taken or retained. Soon after the conclusion of the Seminole treaty, all the negroes in possession of the Seminoles, and even those with whom they had intermarried, and their increase, were claimed by the Creeks as having been paid for by their money; the $250,000 having been retained out of the purchase money for land belonging to the Creeks proper. Speculators contemplated purchasing these negroes of the Creeks, and seizing them when the Seminoles should be on the point of emigrating. The Seminoles foresaw, that, if they united with the Creeks as individuals, if they lost their community as a band, they should be at the mercy of the Creeks, who were greatly superior in numbers."

ally considered the delegation bound to report the result of its examination, and permit a national action upon a measure so important to their future welfare, before emigration became irrevocably settled. Such a course, however, was now precluded, as the act of the delegation had been deemed sufficient to give validity to the treaty, which was presented to the Senate in April, 1834, and ratified by that body.

The treaty thus becoming the "supreme law of the land," all its defects and evils were fixed, and, as it were, irremediable. Its execution became imperative, even with all its contradictory and seemingly impracticable provisions. At the very moment that its ratification was perfected, the time had passed when one of its main stipulations was to have been fulfilled; and in 1835 no emigration had taken place, when, according to the terms of the treaty, it should have been on the eve of completion. Under such an embarrassment, the President, it is stated by Mr. Everett, asked the opinion of his Attorney-General, who decided that the stipulations in this respect were not vacated by the lapse of time, but only postponed; that is, that the emigration, instead of taking place at the impossible dates specified in the treaty, must take place in 1835 and the two following years. Such a decision, even if not most strictly warranted, wore at least the semblance of justice and lenity, and might perhaps have been carried into effect without any serious or openly hostile opposition. But the President, probably under a belief that such a latitude of construction was inadmissible, determined to take the alternative left, which was to crowd the stipulations of three years into one. If the Indians had produced this delay, or any part of it, by their own acts, their ground of complaint would have been narrowed in proportion; and no doubt their dilatoriness in sending off the delegation was the first step that led to it. Nevertheless, as this propensity to procrastinate is an infirmity well known in the Indians, it would seem that prudence required of the Senate, which could not but see the incongruity it was sanctioning in such a solemn manner, to provide some guard against its effects. A very slight acquaintance with the Indians would have suggested a strong doubt, whether these tribes would submit to such a violent compression of the privileges of three years into one; especially when they are wont to linger to the last moment, in all cases of emigration, upon dear and

familiar lands, about to be abandoned for ever. When the Senate ratified this treaty, at such a time, and in such a manner, it scattered broad-cast the seeds of war. Nothing but a persuasion in that body that resistance on the part of the Indians in such a contest, was out of the question, could have suppressed an anxious foreboding of the consequences of so inconsiderate an act. The President, it is true, had an habitual daring. No apprehension of consequences could move him. But more wariness and discretion might have been expected from a body constituted like the Senate, which, in this instance, not only seemed to repulse all prudential considerations, but almost prevented the President also from allowing them any influence in the case. The ratification was undoubtedly pregnant with evil, and the day of birth was not far distant.

With an assurance, that was almost doubly sure, that such a train of causes would produce corresponding effects, — that the emigration would not be consummated without hostile opposition on the one side, and an adequate compulsory force on the other, — there was but one safe and judicious course to pursue, namely, to overawe that opposition by the presence of such a force as would leave it hopeless. An energetic show of an ability, as well as determination, to have the treaty executed, would no doubt have averted those first audacious blows of the anti-migrating party, whose success at once turned the great body of the tribes, till then vacillating between their wishes and their fears, *en masse* against a fulfilment of the treaty. As soon as the return of the delegation aroused indignation at the supposed barter of the Seminole interests for an inadequate compensation, or in a mode not only unprovided for by the treaty, but against its express stipulations, a constabulary band was organized, with the famous Oceola at its head, for the avowed purpose of inflicting summary and condign punishment on any Indian, who should, by word or deed, encourage, or consent to, emigration. The inflexible spirit which animated this band was soon proved in blood. Charley Emathla, a conspicuous chief, and one of the delegation, who had returned with a resolution to promote the removal of his countrymen, either under a belief that it was inevitable, or that the change would ultimately be for their benefit, was openly shot down by this band like a mad dog. Though high in rank and consideration, the death of this

chief led to no retaliation. Such forbearance bespoke the overwhelming ascendency of the anti-emigrating party. Another far more audacious demonstration of hostility to emigration, and to all who were concerned in promoting it, or appointed to conduct it, appeared in the slaughter of General Thompson, the United States' Indian agent for these tribes, then stationed at Fort King. While walking in the very shadow of the fort, he was riddled by a volley of rifle-balls, which a covert party of Indians, said to have been headed by this same Oceola, concentrated upon him. There were, at the same time, other victims of less note to the same daring spirit of hostility to emigration.

These acts were sufficiently significant of the aspect which affairs had assumed in that quarter, and afforded the most unequivocal proof that nothing but the strong arm of power could enforce the treaty; that persuasion was unavailing; that peaceful submission was at an end. Was this power provided? Mr. Everett says it was not. General Clinch, who was the army officer then in command in Florida, has said the same; has publicly and in the most formal manner asserted, that his call for troops was but imperfectly answered, that the force with which he was furnished fell much short of his demands, and equally short of the urgent necessities of the case. We are well aware that the then Secretary of War has met this statement with a counterstatement, and we believe that there was an intention on the part of the War Department to meet, in the fullest manner, the wishes and views of the officer in command, and that the deficiency arose from a misapprehension of the strength of companies ordered to report to him. At the same time we have little doubt that the President, while he was willing that all required reinforcement of the Florida troops should be made, entertained an opinion of the tribes which were to emigrate, that almost excluded any apprehension of a serious and general resistance to the execution of the treaty. He had once, while commanding in the field, easily broken the power of a part of these very Indians; and rating their numbers very low,* probably could not persuade himself that they medi-

* Mr. Everett says; "I have means of being assured, by the best authority, that the President rated the Seminole warriors at not exceeding 400. The then Secretary of War rated them at 750."

tated, or had the ability to oppose, such a resistance. His Secretary of War made larger calculations of their strength, but may easily be supposed to have had great deference for the opinions of one who spoke from experience and something like actual knowledge ; and he shaped all his measures accordingly.

In December, 1835, the force, whatever it was, had other employment than that of supervising an emigrating party. It was met bravely in the field by this party, as an undisguised and an uncompromising enemy. One detachment of troops was utterly destroyed, the only man that escaped to tell the incidents of the fearful tale, having been left on the ground so severely wounded that he was thought to be dead. This massacre of the force under Major Dade had well nigh been as complete as if the detachment had sunk in a foundered ship at sea.

The other column, far more formidable as to numbers, was almost simultaneously met in its march. The contest was a severe and bloody one, before the Indians were driven from the field ; but the column did not pursue its route, though the fate of the Dade detachment had not then been heard of. This retrograde course was prudent and almost inevitable. But the Indians could construe it only as a surrender of the field, at least for the time, to them.

From the foregoing brief statement, it will appear, we think, that Mr. Everett is borne out both in his remark, that "the first error was in originating the war," and also in the consequent inference, that a more prudent course with respect to the treaty, or a more energetic course with respect to the execution of it, would probably have averted this calamity. These miserable offsets from tribes which occupied higher latitudes, had left homes to which they had an unquestionable right, and had gone down to the peninsula of Florida as to a retreat which would seem to invite no molestation. Its half deluged plains, deep morasses, and almost inaccessible forests, appeared to offer a home or a shelter only for beasts, or for men little elevated above beasts as to wants ; and, when they were urged to quit this refuge, and transfer themselves, for our convenience, more than for their benefit, it became at least our bounden duty to remove them in a spirit of forbearance towards their intractability, and even their hostile temperament. Strength and gain were on one side ; weakness

and loss on the other. Such relations inculcated lenity and patience in the powerful, the benefited party. An inflexible exaction of submission to terms which the Indians protested were neither expressed nor implied by the treaty as they assented to it, and an impatient requirement that the specific work of three years should be consummated in one, showed no leaning towards either of these benignant qualities. The Seminoles believed they were outraged and contemned, and turned upon their oppressors with a fury, that has raised a cry of horror through the land for years. Their fatal success has proved that the weak may sometimes be so strengthened by accident or circumstances, as to be able to do enormous harm; that no nation or tribe, however insignificant, should be unnecessarily provoked to hostility, lest a power of vengeance be imparted to them beyond all foresight or calculation. The servile war in Rome, and the Maroon war in Jamaica, are examples, which show that contests may be begun in scorn or heedlessness, which run through years of disappointment and humiliation, draining the treasure, and wasting the life-blood, of a great nation.

The "second error" pointed out by Mr. Everett, namely, that of enforcing the treaty at the point of the bayonet, instead of attempting further negotiation, or compromise, or explanation, has been amply manifested by the course of events, though it may not have been very obvious at the time when, the Senate having ratified the treaty, the President, as we have before suggested, may have felt himself constrained, by the obligations of his situation, to fulfil it to the utmost of his power. A strict fulfilment of all its stipulations being impracticable, it became a serious question how embarrassments arising out of such circumstances could best be avoided. Two years of the time embraced by the treaty, during which important stipulations were to have been completed, had already elapsed. Mr. Everett appears to incline to an opinion, that the incongruity springing from this lapse of time vacated the instrument. But the Senate, with this incongruity half matured, and still maturing even while under its own protracted examination, ratified the treaty with all these imperfections on its head. And in so doing it is understood that the majority acted, not only with the full concurrence, but at the earnest instance, so far as it could be manifested, of the President. The removal of these Indians in common with

all other Indians, beyond the Mississippi, was a favorite measure of the President, who may have considered that no opportunity to secure its fulfilment should be permitted to escape. He knew the difficulties which beset all negotiations with them; how reluctantly they made up their minds to any measure which gave such a new shape to their destiny; and that a reference to them of any subject involving this most unpopular change, with a view to a readjustment, carried almost certain defeat with it. Whether this unpromising aspect of such a course furnished a sufficient reason for avoiding it, few will probably be at a loss to determine. Justice must be done, whoever and whatever may suffer. But it would seem that ratification or rejection were not the alternative. A conditional ratification might have secured all the advantages of the treaty, without imposing upon the executive a seeming obligation to seize them at the imminent hazard of war. Such conditions could probably have been annexed by the Senate, as, with patience and management, might have averted all this hazard. The course of the Senate, however, most unfortunately, was not so prudent. That as little prudence regulated the measures of the President, when thus left with a most difficult and impracticable law to execute, has been fully attested by events.

If the opinion of the Attorney-general had prevailed, and the Indians had been allowed the stipulated three years for their emigration, it is not improbable that they would have submitted, provided the indulgence had been made known before any blows were struck, and provided, also, that a proper force had been present to compel, if necessary, such submission. But the double error of the Senate and the executive converted a treaty, that was intended to secure peaceful blessings to the red and the white man, into a bloody scourge of both.

The "third error" which Mr. Everett imputes to the President is, that he underrated the force of the Indians, and the obstacles which were to be overcome in any hostile operations against them. We have already stated the computations, in the first respect, of the President and of his Secretary of War. Time has proved both of them to be very wide of the truth. Whether they had any certain sources of information is not distinctly known. The duties of the Secretary of War led to a partial examination of the numbers

of these Indians at times when presents were issued, and when other purposes connected with the administration of Indian affairs required it. There was an Indian Agent in the country, who was in constant communication with these tribes, and whose duty it was to become acquainted, as far as practicable, with their numbers. His reports were, of course, at Washington. Moreover, the treaty which had lately been made with them, had necessarily called for as accurate a census as could be obtained. These were the *data* on which the President and the Secretary of War must have based their calculations, as they were the best, and probably the only, information within their reach. How they could have arrived at such different conclusions, varying almost one hundred per cent., is indeed a matter of wonder; still, we cannot suppose that they had any separate or distinct knowledge of the subject. There may have been a strong bias on the part of the President towards the opinion, that the hostility about to be provoked was insignificant in its character, and not to be regarded in its consequences. The Secretary of War, however, could have no motive to deceive himself, and must have considered the estimate he arrived at as correct as circumstances would admit. Whether the force sent into Florida was proportioned to the President's or to the Secretary of War's estimate, can be determined, so far as we know, only by inference, which would incline to the former, that amount having been better adapted to overawe four hundred, than seven hundred and fifty, warriors. For the latter purpose, it was obviously deficient; while it could hardly be supposed to secure the submission of even the less number. In Florida affairs, the President's opinion undoubtedly always prevailed. He had had much experience with the southern Indians, and was authorized to believe that he knew sufficiently well those who were at the extreme South. It is not, therefore, derogating from the official independence of the Secretary of War, to suppose that in this affair he acted in entire subordination to the opinions of the executive. This "error," therefore, of underrating the Florida Indians may safely be ascribed to the executive. It was a great one, and necessarily aggravated the evil consequences of the second false step, namely, that of enforcing the treaty at the point of the bayonet.

Of the "fourth error" specified by Mr. Everett, we

cannot treat at much length, consistently with such an examination as we propose, of the document named second at the head of this article. It would open a wide page of history, and lead to investigations and comparisons which would at once overflow our narrow bounds. There is no doubt that the whole course of government in respect to the Florida war has been governed by "a feverish impatience of instant success." Mr. Everett's bare enumeration of the many generals, who have successively been in command, is a satire upon the administrations which have thus shifted responsibility from shoulder to shoulder, and made command there as deciduous as the leaves of the forest. There seemed to be little or no appreciation of the novel and embarrassing impediments that beset the troops at almost every step. Ample means were provided, it is true, after the first campaign, but they were expected to insure immediate success. Disappointment could see in failure nothing but inability on the part of those who commanded. Change was to supply all defects, cure all evils, and a flourish of new hopes introduced each new actor upon the scene.

This Florida war has been singular, if not unprecedented, in one important respect. The diminution of the enemy has only served to render him the more unconquerable. During the first campaigns, when he had confidence in his strength, he was not only willing to meet our forces, but often sought an encounter. This has not been the case within the last two or three years. His operations have latterly been altogether of a wily, stealthy, disconnected character. He has been broken up into fragments, and sought only such advantages as such a condition of his strength brought within his reach. This has been the result, in part, of a large reduction in his numbers, arising from captures, deaths, and surrenders, but more, perhaps, from the withdrawing of the principal chiefs, who were mostly sent off to Arkansas in 1838, and left their power to fall into numerous hands, as ambition, talent, or hereditary claims, might succeed in the scramble. There has been probably little inclination in these subordinates, thus thrown by accident into the enjoyment of independent rule, to form junctions which would more or less restrain or curtail it. The Indians have, therefore, during the period referred to, been divided into comparatively small bands, which have confined their movements to the dense

hummocks, waylaying the few and the unguarded, or seeking isolated families, where resistance was likely to be slight, and women and children the only prey. They have been nearly invisible and intangible to our troops, which have notice of their covert marches only by the murders committed, the perpetrators being far away, and their trace soon lost in waters, or dark morasses, rendering all pursuit nearly blind and hopeless. No calculations can be made of the length of time that these small bands often patiently await, in some secure lurking-place, an unwary traveller, on whom they may wreak their sanguinary purpose, nor of the persevering watch with which they beset a habitation, until a negligent moment throws the unarmed or the weak into their power. And life has invariably been taken, or supposed by them to have been taken, in all these chance advantages. The Indians, in this war, have spared neither sex nor age. There has not been an instance, so far as we have heard, of relenting, or of mercy. It has been unsparing massacre from first to last.

The public has at length been convinced, that, if this war is to be carried on at all, it requires that the stern law of retaliation be applied. Humanity shudders at the idea of excluding a people from the pale of civilized warfare. But there are cases when mercy itself pleads for justice. The Indians have not made a white captive in this contest. All who have fallen into their hands have been sacrificed, while no apprehension has been felt, under the forbearance of the whites, that blood would be exacted for blood. The events of 1841 have in part dispelled this illusion. And we may not be charged with making an unwarrantable assertion, when we say, that subsequent successes as to emigration have been due in a great degree to these retributive severities. It is true, we waged war with the Indians, knowing their unmitigated cruelty. This is something in their favor, — especially if the provocation were not on their side, — and enough to justify them in acting up to the horrible rigor of the rule, but not enough to oblige their antagonists to abstain from all retaliation. A civilized nation has a character to sustain, and becomes vindictive only after long suffering and much forbearance. But there are motives which overrule this reluctance. The people of Florida have now for several years had their hearths drenched with the blood of women and children, who were seated around them, far from the din of war, in supposed

peace and security. These savage parties have spread such atrocities far and wide. The nation became bound, therefore, to adopt all means, not inconsistent with the customs of its enemy, to repress them ; and even, if it were necessary, to resort to the full measure of retaliation. Still, this has not been done, as yet, in Florida. The only instances, as far as we know, where this summary justice has been inflicted, were of those who were identified as perpetrators of recent murders.

Mr. Everett disclaimed the purpose of offering a criticism upon the campaigns, or those who conducted them, in Florida. We do not propose to do that which he declined attempting. An entire article would scarcely suffice for even a cursory view of such an extended and multifarious subject. Moreover, the period has not yet arrived for such an undertaking. It is, however, full time to glance at some of the difficulties which have stood in the way of success in all these campaigns. The public, for years, has been accustomed to regard Florida as a portion of the country which had no strong peculiarities of climate, topography, or vegetable production ; and to suppose that operations of war could be carried on there in the usual manner, provided the usual skill and energy were applied to the management of them. Such an erroneous judgment was excusable in the outset, as our military men shared in the common ignorance in this respect. But it ought long since to have been understood, that the troops encountered, in their Florida operations, impediments which nowhere else existed in the United States. When our regiments began their march in 1836 through different portions of the peninsula, they at once plunged into a *terra incognita*, and groped their way to the designated points with constant embarrassments, that were as unexpected as they were perplexing. The surface of Florida is generally divided between *hummock* land and pine barrens. The former is for the most part wet, while the latter are dry, though, from their levelness, liable to be submerged after abundant rains. The growth of vegetation in the wet hummocks is very luxuriant, and forms a close and tangled mass which is penetrated with much difficulty. These hummocks are sometimes like islands in the midst of the barrens, having been formed by basin-shaped depressions of the surface, which collect the rain-waters, and hold them a

sufficient length of time to produce a luxuriant growth of trees, vines, and shrubs, that scarcely show themselves where the pines prevail. But they more often follow the water-courses, and spread out from nearly every stream in Florida. The pine barrens, however, the main portion of the peninsula, are the general rule, while the hummocks are only exceptions. The barrens are moved over by troops with comparative facility, but, being everywhere intersected by spurs of hummocks, or by the hummocks themselves, no march of many hours can be made in any section of the territory, that does not encounter impediments which obstruct, delay, or, perhaps, entirely turn it aside. Besides, in the more southern portions of the peninsula, there are cypress swamps, the most impracticable of all the embarrassments that beset military operations in Florida. The cypress has a base that spreads like a trumpet's mouth, and, though the trees may stand many feet apart, they almost crowd at the surface of the earth; while nearly every interstice is filled up by "cypress knees," which are sharp, slender, and short cones, seemingly set there like artificial obstructions to a march. These swamps are moreover mostly inundated, as their name bespeaks. In this enumeration of difficulties, we must not forget the "saw-grass" and "saw-palmetto," both of which have serrated edges, made harsh and unyielding by the mineral substance they take up in their growth, which tear the clothes, and lacerate the legs and feet of the soldiers moving through them, to a degree that can scarcely be comprehended by those who have not seen or felt their effects. The trace of a column through these lets and hinderances has often been marked by blood and the tatters of clothing.

The copious rains in Florida, — realizing the seeming exaggeration of Shakspeare, who says of a shower, "it could not choose but fall by pailsful," — are also a cause of extreme embarrassment to military operations. Falling in such quantities upon any description of country, they would produce great inconvenience; but these inconveniences are incalculably multiplied by the singular flatness of the land in Florida. The very slight undulation of its general surface is not sufficient to give them any defined direction for many days. They accumulate often to such a degree as to leave none but the more elevated portions of the barrens or plains, such as the knolls, above their level. Marches have some-

times been made for the principal part of a day through these shallow seas, with only a faint hope of finding dry ground of suitable extent for an encampment. Small streams are swelled to an unfordable depth, and the larger ones overflow their banks, appearing to have no channel, and becoming unapproachable. Almost every creek in Florida, even those which, according to the maps, would appear, from their short courses, mere brooks, are of an unfordable depth. The St. Johns itself, with its ample breadth, is not deeper or more navigable than (were it not for fallen trees and sunken logs) many of its smallest tributaries, which, with their scarp-like banks, uniform depth, and narrow channels, have much of the character of canals, excepting in their ever tortuous windings.

The foregoing presents but an imperfect sketch of the impediments which every body of troops has to encounter, and, if possible, overcome, while moving on land in Florida. The St. Johns is a noble estuary, opening the Peninsula for some two hundred miles to steamboats, and thus far bisecting it, as it were, for operations. But, since 1838, these operations have been necessarily carried very wide from this river. They have branched into the interior in every direction, and called for means of land transportation in proportion. Our stockade forts have dotted over the whole surface of the peninsula, and the roads, cut out with much labor by the troops, to make these stations accessible to supplies, would, if they were all laid down on a map, cover the area like a net-work. Within the present year, the *everglades*, which occupy a vast space of the southern portion of Florida, and were deemed inaccessible to all but the initiated savages, have been penetrated, and passed through in two or three directions. Such enterprise was not anticipated by those who habitually kept themselves within these formidable and unexplored morasses. Fixed on small islands in the midst of them, approachable only by ways of labyrinthian tortuosity and blindness, they expected no such bold intruders, and were consequently surprised and captured in numbers seldom equalled in this wary war, where surprises and captures have been so rare. This achievement has done much to convince the Indians that they have no fastnesses which are secure from our attacks. The everglade expeditions contributed much to promote the emigration which followed, and, had they

been permitted to continue, that emigration would probably have been far more extensive.

During the few first years of the war, the tribes were known to occupy certain locations, where they were accustomed to plant their corn, and have something like fixed habitations. These were easily found, as the operations of the war spread out, and were successively destroyed. But, after the tribes became broken up, and the bands were multiplied, though small in force, the planting grounds, and habitual resorts of the women and children, were removed to other, far more sequestered spots, surrounded by dense hummocks and wide-spreading waters, which seemed to baffle all attempts at discovery. In more recent seasons, when our troops had acquired habits that enabled them to assimilate their operations to those of the Indians, and where competent guides had been arrested from the enemy, and compelled, under *peine forte et dure*, to play an Ariadne's part, these retreats have been explored, and made familiar to our troops, until the Indians have found that they have no escape from our activity and perseverance.

It is surprising to notice with what tact they have selected these lurking-places, so well calculated to fulfil their purpose ; so well adapted, upon military principles, by making the arrangements of nature supply the place of art, to give them security. And certainly none but an eye familiar with signs that speak alone to an experienced observation, could have guided our scouts through such a maze of forest, marsh, and water, as surrounded them. No accident or blunder could have led troops to penetrate such pathless hummocks, to wade through such broad morasses, ever on a zigzag route that seemed constantly abandoning its probable object, to stumble at last upon a few acres of dry earth, where a remnant of wretches had sequestered themselves under a flattering hope, that seed time and harvest might there be permitted to follow each other in unmolested succession. It would be vain to attempt a detail of the annoyances, fatigues, and wants, of these stealthy marches, which often run through a series of days and nights, frequently at the mercy of an unwilling guide, who might at any moment propose to offer himself, by false leading, as a sacrifice for the benefit of his tribe ; marches, endured in all patience, and even in cheerfulness, under a faint expectation, — made faint by repeated disappointments, — of performing something to weaken or discourage the enemy.

Mr. Everett mentions another "error," which he seems to regard as "of no small magnitude," — "the sanction of the violation of our flag, the white flag, no longer respected by the Indians." There has no doubt been much misapprehension on this subject in the public mind, and much consequent disapprobation and condemnation, arising from a laudable sensitiveness as to national honor and faith, so intimately connected with the use of the "white flag." From Mr. Everett's remark, that the Indians no longer respect it, the inference is, that they had before respected it. This is far from being the case. The respect they have occasionally manifested for it has arisen from an accidental coincidence of such a feeling with their temporary wishes or designs, rather than from an habitual acknowledgment, on their part, of its inviolable character. Nor could such an acknowledgment be expected of a people, that does not admit any one of the merciful restraints of war. It would be a singular incongruity indeed, if those who spare neither women nor children, — who cut down the captive, and answer the pleadings for life with instant death, — were to consider the white flag as throwing a security around those who bear it. When messengers have been sent out to them, they have generally borne a white flag, but these messengers have been almost invariably, if not always, either Indians or negroes, who had little to fear, even without such a protection, except from malice or misapprehension. A white man proceeding towards their camps under such circumstances would probably have forfeited his life by his confidence in their respect for the white flag.

Mr. Everett does not impute this "error" so distinctly to the executive as in the other instances, and perhaps he meant that the censure should also fall on others, — on those whom he believed to have violated its character, as well as on the executive, who, by passiveness in the case, sanctioned that violation. It would undoubtedly have been the duty of the President to punish any violations of the national faith and honor by any officer. As he sanctioned, either directly or impliedly, the course that was taken, the inference must be, that he perceived no such violations. He looked upon the Indians as having no alternative but emigration, and the contest as having been begun and carried on to compel them to emigrate; and every Indian who fell into the power of the officer in command in Florida, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, he

no doubt considered as becoming at once a subject for emigration. The officer, this being so, had no option under the treaty, and under his instructions. All opportunities of fulfilling these he omitted at his peril. It was well known to those who served in Florida during the first years of the war, that the Indians habitually made use of the white flag for their convenience, or for sinister purposes, alone. They made it a cover for spying out our ways, and for entering our camps and forts, having found that it secured their ingress and egress also. This was a great gain on their part, and a great loss on ours. It would doubtless have been proper in every commanding officer, to have detained all who thus came in, provided he had not reason to believe their going out again would be likely to promote the great object in view, that is, the execution of the treaty. And it was probably because considerations of the latter kind prevailed in most cases, rather than because the flag was looked upon as a safeguard for coming and going at pleasure, that such detentions were not always made.

In the two most conspicuous cases connected with this subject, the commanding officer was governed only by a sense of his obligations to the public, and the spirit of his instructions. Sympathy for the celebrated Powell, or Oceola, naturally led the community to a harsh judgment in the case which first occurred ; though a recollection of his bloody act, in the instance of General Thompson, the agent, and Lieutenant Constantine Smith, might have awakened a very different feeling. But he was undoubtedly an extraordinary Indian, and entitled to high respect. The hardly less celebrated Coacoochee, or Wild-cat, was, we believe, the envoy who induced him to come within the power of the whites. This envoy was at that time a seemingly sincere, and certainly a most active agent, to bring about a fulfilment of the treaty. He was trusted, and felt that he had an important and creditable part to perform. Most unfortunately, after he returned from his successful embassy to Powell, circumstances excited a strong doubt of his sincerity. His father having lately been captured, and being then in prison, and the party accompanying Powell being strong and well armed, it became prudent to withdraw the confidence that had been reposed in him, and to secure him with the other prisoners then in St. Augustine. It is altogether probable that Powell, in consenting to meet

the whites, supposed that the white flag, under which he approached the designated place, would authorize him to go out again if he chose. Whether Coacoochee gave him any assurances to that effect, we do not know. It is not probable that he was instructed to do so, as there was but one course to be pursued with the Indians, which led to emigration and nothing but emigration. Coacoochee himself then expected to emigrate, and no doubt wished others to do the same. He, therefore, probably brought Powell in, under an expectation that he would not go out again. It would seem that that chief came in with a double purpose. He had about eighty persons with him well armed, as about that number of loaded rifles were found secreted near the appointed place of conference. If a favorable opportunity should occur, perhaps he intended to effect the liberation of the prisoners recently made, or achieve any other daring act, suited to circumstances and his ambitious character. But he was in ill health at the time, and apparently little fitted for the hazards of such designs. When he was surrounded, and informed that he was in captivity, he manifested neither surprise nor inclination to resist. This arose from either a consciousness that, while he intended to overreach, he had been merely overreached, or from an expectation of such an event. Some weeks afterwards, when Coacoochee made his escape, Powell had the same way open to him, but he refused to avail himself of it. He evidently then had no desire to return to his comrades in the field, and may have quitted them, when he came in, with the same feeling. At that period, when very extensive preparations were made for a new campaign, there was a general willingness among the Indians to give up, with a view to emigrate. Micanopy, the chief of the Florida Indians, and many of his adherents, came in upon the first overtures. It is likely that a general emigration would have been the result of Micanopy's movements, had not Coacoochee, who had made his escape from prison, reached the famous Sam Jones in time to rekindle the spirit of war in the breast of that chief, who was most reluctantly yielding to the tide of submission, and was nothing loth to follow the more daring counsels of his new, indignant, and revengeful coadjutor.

Micanopy had come in to emigrate. He did not intend to do so, of course, without his nation. But circumstances, over which neither he nor the officer in command had any

control, diminished the number expected to accompany him. All were disappointed. But could that furnish a justification for turning loose again this principal chief, and his many influential subordinates who were with him, to renew the war, and cast away the chances of peace which were then in hand ?

We have not space to give even the same brief consideration to the other instance no doubt alluded to by Mr. Everett, where several hundreds were made to emigrate from Jupiter Inlet, as we have given to the foregoing. No white flag was used in that instance to induce the Indians to come in. A negro was sent out, well known to them by long residence with them, who chose to raise a white flag, or something like it, as he approached them, lest they might fire upon him before being made acquainted with his peaceful errand. He invited them to come in. They agreed to a conference, which resulted in their consent to come in, and await a message to the government, proposing something like that which General Macomb was subsequently authorized to grant, as a condition of cessation from all hostility. If these terms were not allowed, emigration was to follow. It is well recollected that government refused any indulgence, and the whole body was made to emigrate.

In remarking upon this "error," we are aware that we tread on controverted ground ; that we have taken a view of it which is not, or was not, in accordance with that of a generous and sensitive public. But we believe that insufficient allowances have been made for the peculiarity of situation in which officers commanding in Florida have been placed. They have had a skilful, wily, vindictive foe to meet, without being able to regard him in all respects as an ordinary enemy, coming under the rules of ordinary warfare. The end of the war was to remove the Indians, and no chances of effecting this purpose were to be lost. If the band which was with Powell, that which accompanied Micanopy, and the still larger band, which was sent off from Jupiter Inlet, had been permitted to reunite with their brethren, and thus to swell the amount of hostility by many hundreds of warriors, and many first-rate chiefs (the latter perhaps the greater acquisition), the war would have been even more desperate than it has been for some years past. The public would then, perhaps, have found other and better grounds for censure, and have

condemned accordingly. If there has been any violation of national faith, or even individual unfairness, in these transactions, then condemnation should follow, let the consequences be what they may. But if, under circumstances of an extraordinary character, somewhat extraordinary powers have been exerted to fulfil the purposes of the war, the public should permit its generous, rather than its sensitive, feelings to predominate. In all the cases alluded to, the Indians were treated with the utmost humanity and kindness, and denied nothing but the liberty of returning to the wastes of Florida. And all of them are now peacefully occupying their new homes beyond the Mississippi, instead of sharing in the harassed, hunted, and wretched life, which has inevitably been the lot of those they left behind. Whenever they have been heard from, it has been only to persuade these remnants to join them in that new home.

But it is time we turned attention to another branch of our subject, — that which is suggested by the document named in the second place at the head of this article. We fear we have left hardly space for such a consideration of it as its magnitude and great notoriety would seem to demand. No question, connected with the administration of our government during the last few years, has been more frequently in the public mind, than the expenditures of the Florida war. And probably none has been less understood. Indeed, it is complicated to the last degree, and perhaps will never be fully and satisfactorily explained. The document before us shows the extreme difficulty of obtaining an accurate and detailed exhibit of the expenses, which properly belong to the suppression of Indian hostilities. The resolution of the House of Representatives was certainly of ample scope enough. To comply with it satisfactorily, or according to the letter, would have been an enormous work, even had the means been within reach ; but it appears from the letter of the Secretary of War, communicating the report of what was done, that the materials for such a statement do not exist. He says, " The most accurate result that could be arrived at would probably be only an approximation to the true amount ; but to reach even such a result would require an examination of so minute, laborious, and extended a character, into so immense a mass of accounts, vouchers, returns, abstracts of issues, and other documents, as, under no circumstances, could have been

made within the time limited by the resolution ; nor could it be done for years, without a considerable accession of force," &c. For these most obvious reasons, a report, under the resolution, " showing distinctly the various items of the expenditure," that is, " the number of troops employed in that service, and the length of time employed, distinguishing the commanding officers from the privates and non-commissioned officers, and the amount of pay to the officers and to the non-commissioned officers and privates ; the amount paid for subsistence and transportation, and the items for such expenditure separately ; the other expenses under their appropriate heads, and the items of such expenditure," was made only in part, and that a very small part. The Third Auditor, on whom the brunt of the investigation would have fallen, did not make the attempt to report at all ; as, he says, he could form no idea " of the magnitude of such a report, or the preliminary labor and time necessary to its compilation ;" but was " fully satisfied, however, from [his] own reflections on the subject, and the opinions of others conversant therewith, that, if all the clerks in the office, to the utter neglect of their other duties, could have been employed on the work from the time the resolution was received, it would have been beyond their ability to accomplish the same by the first or even the last day of the next session of Congress."

It is probable, that neither the Secretary nor the Auditor expressed half of what they believed to be the truth in the premises. We feel almost certain, that the whole force of the Treasury, " to the utter neglect of all other duties," could not have achieved a literal compliance with the call in many years.* But the answer, although so immeasurably short of the call, furnishes enough for our purposes, and probably furnished enough for the purposes of Congress.

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* With this document probably on his table, the Honorable Mr. Levy, Delegate from Florida, at the late extra session, where he was a new member, offered a string of *nine* resolutions on the multifarious subject of Florida. The first resolution called for a report of " all the sums expended in the execution of the treaty of ' Payne's Landing,' " " specifying the several items." He might have said the several thousand, or several hundred thousand, items. He takes up the first link in this endless chain of expenditure ; and, if the House pass the resolution hereafter, the Department will again have a task before them as difficult and as indefinite as the Florida war itself. The new members are apt to require every thing as new as themselves. They cannot look back through old dusty and musty files.

Little seems to have been done with the document, except to enable members to remark, as Mr. Everett did, that the "expenditure" came up to "twenty millions." This amount, however, is far from being inferred from the report in question. The aggregate given by that would fall very considerably short of so large a sum. The appropriations which had been made for these purposes may have been in view, as they furnished sufficient data by which to determine the probable expenditure; not a doubt existing but that *all* such appropriations had been expended. The precise amount of these appropriations we have not at hand the means of ascertaining; but it is a matter of notoriety that they have come up to the full amount set forth by Mr. Everett. Of this fact there is no question. But there *is* a question, whether all these expenditures have been made on account of "the Florida War," as Mr. Everett stated, and as almost all others have stated, who have had occasion to dwell on this topic.

It may not, at first view, be deemed a matter of any moment, whether these many millions have been swallowed up in our endeavours to make the Florida Indians emigrate, according to Colonel Gadsden's treaty, or whether they were applied to other somewhat kindred objects. A little reflection, however, will convince one that the credit of the nation is deeply concerned in a proper discrimination as to this subject. There is not a doubt, but that the attempted expulsion of the miserable remnants of tribes who have made the peninsula of Florida their home, has cost us a sum that is most glaringly disproportioned to the weakness of these remnants, and that the nation will have its full measure of obloquy to bear, even when the strict truth alone shall govern public opinion; but this measure will be much diminished by a proper understanding of the facts. The Secretary of War, in communicating this Report, says;

"The appropriations for the expenses of the Florida war, the war with the Creek Indians, and for those incident to the military operations that took place for the purpose of preventing hostilities on the part of the Cherokee Indians, from about the middle of the year 1836, till they were finally removed, in the latter part of 1838, were all under the same general head. From the scarcity of supplies in the different sections of the country in which the military operations were in progress, and

the greatly enhanced prices, in consequence of the increased demand, it became necessary, and was much more economical, to purchase a very large proportion at a distance from the scene of operations. The supplies purchased by the officers employed on this duty were frequently distributed among two, and sometimes all three, of the different sections of military operations, at the same time ; and those which had been specially purchased for one section, or which had been assigned to it from the general purchases, were sometimes sent from it to another by the commanding generals, either because not needed, or in consequence of some pressing exigency of the service. These purchases were all paid for from the same general appropriation, and no distinction was made by the officers, in their accounts, so as to designate the particular service to which the supplies were assigned. There is nothing to show, with any thing like accuracy, the quantity applied to each ; no accounts were kept of what was assigned to each, or of the quantities afterwards transferred from one to the other. The duty of the Department ceased with the taking of all the necessary measures for procuring the requisite quantities of the various kinds of supplies, of the best qualities, and at the lowest prices, and with observing all possible precaution to preserve them from misapplication, waste, or damage, and for their being distributed to the troops in the authorized quantities ; hence, of a large portion of the expenditures under the general head of " preventing and suppressing Indian hostilities," it is believed to be impossible to designate what part of them should be charged to the operations in Florida. The most accurate result that could be arrived at, would probably be only an approximation to the true amount ; but to reach even such a result, would require an examination of so minute, laborious, and extended a character, into so immense a mass of accounts, vouchers, returns, abstracts of issues, and other documents, as, under no circumstances, could have been made within the time limited by the resolution ; nor could it be done for years, without a considerable accession of force ; for the whole time and labor of that now at the disposal of those bureaus of the Department, by which the investigations would have principally to be made, are required to keep up the important and indispensable current business constantly pressing upon them."

The first part of this extract shows the very involved state of the case. These " twenty millions " have been spread over a very wide ground, — over many degrees of latitude and longitude, with which Florida has little or nothing to do.

Creek wars, and Cherokee wars, come in for their share, and a very large share too. The Creeks were a large nation compared with the Seminoles, or Florida Indians. They probably numbered as many thousands as the Seminoles did hundreds, and the amount of force brought out against the former under General Scott and General Jesup may have been in proportion. Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee came forth as if a crusade were on foot. Their militia flooded the field, and its services have all been paid for out of these "twenty millions."

It was the same with the Cherokees. They, too, were a strong nation, — probably as strong as the Creeks. It was not open hostilities with them, for they never lifted the tomahawk, nor withstood emigration "to the knife." Remonstrance, protestation, and reluctance in every form but that of hostile resistance, evinced their unwillingness to go, and something like determination to stay. In this case, the government, taught by experience, resolved that prevention should anticipate the necessity of cure, and sent a force into the Cherokee country, that seemed to fill all its hills and valleys with the sounds of warlike readiness. Again were Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee on the ground. "To your tents" was the cry in all the borders, and it was answered by as many thousands as had closed around the Creeks. Fortunately, more pacific councils prevailed among the Indians in the one case than in the other. The Cherokees at last emigrated in peace, though not without costing the United States a vast sum. Feeding and paying these crowds of militia, through many months, was at a heavy cost, all of which has heretofore, in common parlance, been set down to the "Florida War."

The Quartermaster-general has appended to his report, in the document we are now reviewing, a statement which shows, in a sufficiently plain manner, the influence this union of wars had in augmenting appropriations, and how much cheaper the Seminoles were managed single-handed, than when conjoined with their more numerous brethren, the Creeks and Cherokees. For instance, he states, that the appropriation, on account of the quartermaster's department in 1836, "for the Seminole, Creek, and Cherokee wars," was $1,680,470·28; in 1837, for the same triple purpose, $3,362,306·46; in 1838, for the Seminole and Cherokee

wars, $3,967,774·04 ; in 1839, when the Seminoles alone remained, $1,455,998·81 ; and in 1840, for the same single purpose, $1,107,927·63. This statement enables us to form a pretty satisfactory idea of the proportion of this amount which the Seminole or "Florida" war could rightly be made to bear. It would not seem out of the way to assign to the Creeks and to the Cherokees, who were thousands, while the Seminoles were only hundreds, one third part each of the expenditures for the three years 1836, 1837, and 1838, during which we were at a constant cost of treasure, if not also of blood, on their account. Under this rule, so favorable to the larger nations, out of the nine millions and upwards which were expended in that time by the quatermaster's department on account of "preventing and suppressing hostilities" with these three nations, rather more than six millions would be assignable to the Creek and Cherokee wars, and must be deducted from the "Florida war."

If it be asked, why we should thus endeavour to establish this discrimination, we answer, for the credit of the nation. If these six millions, which we assign to the Creek and Cherokee wars, were really expended on those accounts, there was something like an adequate occasion. When it became settled that those large and formidable tribes were to be removed, a most important object was to be attained, an object requiring much management and preparation, and involving much hazard. The hazard with respect to the Creeks was soon unequivocal. They opposed force to force, and a most serious, prolonged, and onerous war, in which the millions actually spent might have been doubled many times, was prevented only by an energetic and prompt application of the abundant levies which the contiguous States, as we have before remarked, threw into the field. There were thousands of Creeks transferred, as captives, from the land to which they so tenaciously clung, to remote regions, that wore to them, at that time, a most repulsive aspect. Nothing but the dark clouds of menace that lowered over them on every side, induced them thus early to give up the contest. We do not count the cost which produced this result as having been disproportioned to the object in view, and this expenditure may therefore be regarded as having been prudently and properly applied. In these remarks, of course,

we are not expressing any opinion as to the policy which led to these removals. With that we have now nothing to do.

The same observations are mainly applicable to the Cherokee difficulty, — for it did not become a war. This calamity, however, was averted only by much wisdom and forbearance, joined to every proper precaution as to means of enforcement in case of necessity. This tribe was in many respects even more formidable than the Creek tribe. It was more civilized, and consequently more capable, in case of war, of using its numbers to advantage. Fortunately, a more prudent policy prevailed, — a policy which was the joint result of an enlightened, benevolent, and conciliating conduct on the part of the officers, who acted in the affair as agents of the United States, and on the part of those who governed the Cherokees, of tempered feelings, allowing the full exercise of discretion and judgment, where both were so likely to be overpowered by a thousand unpropitious recollections. In the last season of the negotiation, when the tribes were to go forth from their beautiful hills and valleys and streams (and truly beautiful they are), there was scarcely a day, or an hour, in which some unlucky step, some imprudent manifestation, on either side, might not have filled all those scenes with war in its worst forms. There was one man, the intelligent and shrewd chief of the Cherokees, who could at any moment have produced such a change ; but he was led to use his unbounded influence for good, rather than for evil, to his nation, by faithful and eloquent representations, on the part of the officer in command, of the stern and inflexible necessity which left that nation no alternative but to emigrate. The millions, therefore, which were expended in producing this happy result, were well applied. The fruit had all the value of the price paid for it. Indeed, had this price been seven times seven, — we had almost said seventy times seven, — greater than it proved to be, better had it been paid, than that the land, in such a cause, should have been dyed with Cherokee blood, mingled with our own.

But we turn again to the Florida war in its singleness, separated from these two other wars, whose heavy expenditures have thus far, in public opinion, been regarded only as Florida expenditures. With this discrimination, however, enough will remain to overburden with its weight the real Florida war. The public has not often been led to look into

the variety of means that has been used in this war. In the Creek, and also in the Cherokee instance, there were excellent reasons for resorting to the militia. They were at hand, could easily be subsisted, and presented the only expedient where such an amount of force was required. The regular army could not furnish that force, nor even a respectable proportion of it. But in Florida the case was different. This peninsula was remote from the settlements of contiguous States; was peculiarly difficult of access; and besides, all kinds of subsistence, whether for man or beast, were there to be had only by a resort to distant portions of the country. Florida was, therefore, the place for the regular army, and the regular army only, excepting, perhaps, volunteers from the peninsula itself, many of whom had been driven from their homes, and were destitute, and most of whom had an intimate knowledge of the territory, and could be employed usefully to the country and beneficially to themselves.

Had the war been confined to these means, that is, to the regular army and the local militia, the sum of its cost would have scarcely been felt by the treasury, as there would have been little addition to the ordinary demand for military purposes. It is true, the numbers accumulated in the Territory would have been far less, but it is altogether probable that the amount of achievement would not have been less. This was not expected, because it was thought that success would be in proportion to numbers; but such was not the result, nor was there just ground for expecting it. These numbers were generally poured in without due regard to the subsistence they might meet at the scene of operations. Such was the case with the first band of gallant volunteers, amounting to a thousand or more, which precipitated itself into Florida from the Mississippi, at an imminent risk of being starved itself, and starving those whom it came to succour.

War cannot generally be carried on in a hurry. If the *personnel* outstrip the *matériel*, there is not only no gain, but almost inevitably a severe loss. When it was found that the amount of troops sent into Florida at the outset had been insufficient, as it undoubtedly was, the evil was not to be remedied by running into the other extreme. The regular force there was very soon increased to a respectable amount, and with that, in the main, all operations should have been carried on. Such a body of troops, it is now evident, would

not have concluded the war according to the impatient wishes of the government. Neither did all those masses of militia or volunteers, which at different times were sent into Florida, effect the object. The war, without these extraneous aids, would probably have been about where it is now, — at least no further from its beginning, and as near to its end. But the expense would have been immeasurably different. The regular army would have cost no more in Florida than anywhere else. It is paid, fed, and clothed, wherever it is. In these respects there would have been no augmentation on account of the "Florida war."

But Congress, in an evil hour, authorized the President to call out volunteers to an amount not to exceed ten thousand. The maximum was probably in the field, in different quarters, even before the public at large knew that the law had passed. So far as portions of this force were applied to the Creek or the Cherokee war, as we have before remarked, the service was beneficial. Here we should say the benefit stopped. From the document before us, we see that volunteers gallantly rushed into Florida from the District of Columbia, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, New York, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, Missouri, and South Carolina. The report of the adjutant-general of the army, which forms a part of the document, states that more than fourteen thousand of these citizen soldiers left their homes, between the years 1836 and 1840, but mostly in the years 1836, 1837, and 1838, and subjected themselves to all the perils and privations of the Florida war, a very few of them for a term of twelve, more of them for a term of three, and about one half of them for a term of six months. They were all in the field long enough to convince them that a soldier's life in Florida had little of "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war"; that their sufferings, in such a contest, redounded little to their own fame, or the benefit of their country; that, however such campaigns might begin in hope, they were sure to end in disappointment. It is no derogation from the spirit and patriotism of these thousands of citizens, who thus, for a season, took to the tented field with a promptness and ardor that deserved better success, to entertain a belief that their services in the Florida war scarcely advanced it one step towards a termination. The inference from such a belief is, of course, that all the enormous expense which has attended these services, has

been a mere waste of public money, which could have been saved, and should have been saved, to the nation.

There is a regular system of supply for the regular army; and its due wants, wherever it may be, are met with provident care. The same system is fitted to extend itself to militia whenever called into service, provided it come out according to such calls. But in this war, most of the movements have been so extemporaneous, that no provision could be beforehand with them. In all such cases, the economy and efficiency of such a system are exerted in vain, or rather all exertions are foreclosed. For instance, more than a thousand mounted volunteers collected in Georgia early in 1838, and came into Florida. The first information the General in command there had of this movement was communicated by a newspaper paragraph, and before scarcely a hurried step could be taken to meet the wants of such a column in a region where no *dépôts* were provided, and where there were few means of obtaining supplies from other parts, it was upon the ground of action. Under such circumstances, the utmost measure of courage and discipline, if it were there, could not have averted the necessity of an early retrograde movement, with little chance of leaving any services behind, as an equivalent for the enormous expense of such a sudden and unlooked for irruption.

The southern portions of Georgia, and the northwestern portions of Florida, have often been led, by unexpected outbreaks of the enemy, to fly to the field. These parties were not always proportioned to the degree of danger, and may have frequently remained in arms after that danger had ceased. But, under such circumstances, it would be difficult to calculate the amount of the necessity, or the quantity of force required to repel, or guard against it, or the time proper to be under arms. Where a scattered community feels itself thus endangered, or is thus assailed, by a foe who masks his designs as well as his means of fulfilling them, strict limits cannot be set to the methods adopted for protection. But such latitude does not apply to other instances connected with the volunteers, who have shared in the Florida war. In most other instances they came out by authority, and the cost could well have been counted. It was with perfect deliberation, that more than eight hundred men were brought from Louisiana for only three months' service; a term, one third

of which, perhaps more, must necessarily have been consumed in the movement to and from the scene of action. It were mere folly to expect any beneficial service from volunteers, whatever may have been their character, in two short months. More than two thousand men came from South Carolina, also, for a similar brief term of service. The march was sufficiently long to make it little more than a movement to and fro. Their gallantry was lost upon the road. Not so the expense, which was the same, as to their coming and going, as if they had remained years on the ground. About five hundred volunteers came down from Missouri for six months' service. This was a remote point, and the time allowed for action in the field was diminished in proportion. Not so the expense, which was augmented in proportion. Over two thousand came from Tennessee, all mounted. They were for six months ; but, as the march was long, and much entertainment for both man and horse was to be provided on the spur of the moment, a large outlay, of course, preceded their entry on the scene of action. Nor did they return, after their short campaign, without a renewal of the same expense.

Although no details are given of the expenditures connected with the movements, to and fro, of these various ephemeral corps of volunteers, in the document under review, — the Third Auditor, from whose office they would come, being unable to furnish any report, — yet it is easy for the most unreflecting to perceive, that the case exhibits a vast amount of cost, for which there was hardly an opportunity, however eagerly it may have been sought, of making any return in services against the enemy. The more than fourteen thousand citizen-soldiers, who, in the course of two or three years, came into Florida, in most instances necessarily spent something like a third, or half, of their term in marches, or movements only remotely bearing upon hostile operations. And these preliminary and subsequent marches and movements were, for the most part, by far the most expensive portions of the service of these troops. It would not be difficult, with only a tithe of the labor which the document before us cost the various departments, to show what proportion of the millions in question has been exhausted on these mere externals of the war.

Much has been said on the subject of expensive transporta-

tion connected with this war. It has inevitably been more than usually expensive in this respect. Florida had, and has, little or nothing within itself to promote the operations of war. Every thing has to be brought from a distance. Land transportation is provided with comparative economy for the settled operations of the interior. In this respect there has been no censure, as there has been no room for it. But, on the water, there is far greater difficulty, and the want of passable avenues into Florida has thrown nearly all kinds of transportation upon this element. To provide for this extensive want, resort was, of course, had to the steamboats of the neighbouring States. These were numerous on both sides of the peninsula, but were, of course, all engaged in local and civil matters, and could not be induced to withdraw from such occupations, — occupations, for which they had been constructed, with which they were familiar, and which involved only ordinary risks, — to engage in distant, untried, and positively hazardous employments, without a compensation proportioned to the change of circumstances.

In a late session of Congress, a member, in the course of his speech, cited a long list of steamboats engaged in the Florida service, with the monthly compensation contracted to be paid to each. None of these instances exhibited any thing extraordinary. The compensation was pretty uniform, and, no doubt, had been brought down to a fair standard by the demand and supply of the market. These steamboats were, as we have before remarked, exposed to hazards of various kinds, and also to severe wear and tear. There was, therefore, a reason for demanding an unusual compensation. But, taking all the instances here cited, and ascertaining the aggregate amount paid under them, we should account for but a small proportion of the "millions" so often voted for this war. There were a few conspicuous cases, on the Gulf side, of unprincipled advantage taken of the extreme necessities of government, where steamboat transportation was indispensable to immediate operations, and these cases have struck the public with wonder and disgust. But such occasional exhibitions of inordinate cupidity, though they may have filled, to overflowing, the pockets of a few individuals, drew out of the treasury only an inconsiderable fraction of these "millions." They served to point a moral and adorn a speech, but formed only a small item in this vast account of extravagance.

Before we draw our remarks to a close, we feel tempted to turn back for a moment to Mr. Everett's passing observation on the supposed interest that Florida has in the continuance of this war, arising from the rich gleanings she is supposed to gather from its "profits." This observation is in accordance with the popular opinion. There are doubtless many adventurers collected in that ill-fated territory, the refuse of the regular army and of the volunteers, who, like birds of prey, are found "wherever the carcass is." These hang loosely upon the skirts of war, and would find their occupation gone, if the Indians were to emigrate. Such persons may occasionally aid the enemy, and even treacherously consort with them. But, notwithstanding these exceptions, the people of Florida deplore the continuance of a contest, that has almost blotted out her plantations, and reduced her fixed population to a few towns. Her share in the "millions" that have been spent under the cover of her name has been very small. She had little in the outset to sell or to let, and she has scarcely any thing now. Even had not her prolific orange groves been cut off by a killing frost just before the war, their golden fruits, which were of golden value in times of peace, would have been rejected for the rough purposes of war. Many of these millions were borne off by the more than fourteen thousand volunteers who crowded into her territory; some of them went to the northern and middle States, whose hay and grain, cultivated in peace, have been thrown so profusely into the cavernous jaws of war; and, of all the large sums that have been expended on transportation, Florida has probably not profited a mill in a million. The "few" may have smiled, but the "many" have wept in blood and ashes, over the long train of ills that have followed the treaty of "Payne's Landing," — a treaty which they, perhaps, had never heard of, until they began to suffer under the ineffectual attempts to carry it into execution.

We will finish our somewhat vague and cursory remarks upon this protracted, vexatious, humiliating, and burdensome war, by expressing a hope that it is approximating a close. Certainly much has been done during the present season to justify such a hope. The enemy has been traced and retraced to his strong-holds or hiding-places, — literally his *derniers resorts*, — and finds that our troops can so far imitate his sly

and insidious modes of warfare, as to be often upon him, through his loop-holes of retreat, when least expected. He is fast becoming convinced, that his hummocks and swamps, and even his everglades, where he flattered himself that no pursuit could, or would, ever come, are now nearly all familiarized to our bold and persevering scouts. He has, with but one exception, — and that exception, we trust, will be removed before this article meets the public eye, — been chased from one refuge to another, until his "smokes" are hardly permitted to ascend twice from the same place. The women, wearied out with sufferings and perils, have long since threatened to come in without their husbands and fathers. They have often thrown themselves, with apparent design, in the way of the scouts, and become willing guides, in hopes that all together might be led into captivity. So many of these Indians have now been removed to the far West, that the residue, in spite of their unrelenting hostility, begin to regard the other side of the Mississippi as their real home. Such a feeling will go further with this peculiar people, who hardly consider war as an evil, than almost any amount of coercion. And this feeling is developed and fostered by the present policy of the command in Florida. The sword is in one hand, and the olive in the other. The Indians are driven in, and beckoned in, and are fast dwindling to a mere point as to numbers. Let the war be terminated when it may or how it may, it will leave a memorable lesson behind; teaching us, as a nation, not to measure the cost or the length of any conflict we are about to provoke, by our own strength, or the weakness of the enemy; and to count all wars, whether insignificant or formidable in prospect, as an evil day that should be put afar off. And if the millions which are really chargeable to, and have been spent on, this "Florida war," shall produce a national conviction, that long-suffering and magnanimity should mark all our dealings with the unfortunate red men, and that a contrary policy brings with it the chastisement of "woes unnumbered," the expenditure, large as it is or may be, will not have been in vain.

ART. II. — 1. *Remarks on the Nature and Probable Effects of Introducing the Voluntary System in the Studies of Latin and Greek, proposed in certain Resolutions of the President and Fellows of Harvard University, now under the Consideration of its Board of Overseers.* By JOSIAH QUINCY, President of the University. Cambridge: John Owen. 1841. 8vo. pp. 29.

2. *Report and Resolutions of the President and Fellows of Harvard University respecting the Introduction of the Voluntary System in the Studies of the Mathematics, Latin, and Greek; and also the Report of the Visiting Committee of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University on the State of the Seminary, January,* 1841. Printed by order of the Board of Overseers. Cambridge: Folsom, Wells, & Thurston. 1841. 8vo. pp. 16.

3. *The Report of the Committee* [of the Board of Overseers] *to whom was referred the Report and Resolutions of the President and Fellows of Harvard University respecting the Introduction of the Voluntary System in the Studies of the Mathematics, Latin, and Greek.* Cambridge: Folsom, Wells, & Thurston. 1841. 8vo. pp. 8.

IN the course of the past winter, an important and radical change in the system of studies pursued in Harvard College, which had been proposed by the President and Fellows, received the final sanction of the Board of Overseers. We have understood that the alteration was also approved, though informally, by the Professors and Tutors, who compose what is called the *Faculty* of the institution. The pamphlets before us relate to the action of the Corporation and the Board of Overseers. Two of them were printed for the use of the Board, and the third, the "Remarks" by the President, was published a few days before the final decision by the Overseers, and was addressed to them with a view of facilitating and influencing that decision, and not to the community at large with the intention of informing or guiding public opinion upon the subject.

We cannot disguise our regret, that a greater publicity was not given to the proceeding. It is true, that the subject was

incidentally brought before the Overseers at their meeting in the Senate Chamber the year before, and at this last session it was publicly discussed for two days in the same place. But the affair was hardly mentioned in the public journals ; and the President's pamphlet, the only one that has been published having any relation to the subject, though it appeared for a few days on the counters of the booksellers, was seen by very few except those to whom it was particularly addressed. Many of the *alumni* and other friends to the College heard of the new system of studies for the first time, several months after it had been in operation. Yet the new plan is not merely a change in the details of instruction, but a virtual abandonment of that whole scheme of a liberal education, upon which the College has acted ever since its establishment. As such, we conceive that it ought not to pass without being fully brought to the notice, not merely of the friends of this particular institution, but of all who watch with interest over the cause of science and sound learning in this country.

The leading principles of the new system appear in the following resolutions, which were submitted by the Corporation to the Board of Overseers.

"*Resolved*, 1. That every Student who has completed, during the Freshman year, the studies required by the laws of the University, in the Greek and Latin Departments for that year, and shall have passed a satisfactory examination in them, and shall be recommended by the Examining Committee and his Instructors for the privilege of election in such branch, respectively may discontinue the study of either or both branches, at the end of the Freshman year, at the written request of his parent, or guardian (if under age), made with a full knowledge of his standing as a scholar, in each branch respectively, of the future studies in each department, and of those to be substituted for them.

"*Resolved*, 2. That those Students, who continue in the study of either or both branches after the commencement of the Sophomore year, may choose either of the following courses; — the first course to continue through the Sophomore and Junior years; — the second course to extend through the Senior year, and particularly designed for those who wish to become accomplished scholars, or to qualify themselves thoroughly to instruct in classical schools and colleges.

"*Resolved*, 3. That those who pursue the first or second course, in either department, shall receive in addition to the

usual diploma, a special certificate expressing the studies each has respectively pursued.

"*Resolved*, 4. That those Students who discontinue the study of Greek or Latin, shall choose as a substitute one or more of the following branches ; — Natural History ; Civil History ; Chemistry ; Geology ; Geography and the Use of Globes ; Popular Astronomy ; Modern Languages ; Modern Oriental Literature ; or studies in either Greek or Latin, which may not have been discontinued, in addition to the prescribed course in such branch. The times and order of these studies will depend on the convenience of the Instructors, and the decision of the Faculty, and each Student will be required to engage in such a number of studies as shall, in the judgment of the Faculty, be sufficient reasonably to occupy his whole time.

"*Resolved*, 5. That those Students who have not at the commencement of the Sophomore year, completed the Greek or Latin studies required in the Freshman year, will be allowed the same choice with the others as to their regular studies. But in addition to these regular studies, and in place of a voluntary study, which in this case will not be allowed, they shall, unless excused by a special vote of the Faculty, continue the Greek or Latin in which they are deficient, until they have completed those required in the Freshman year." — *Report*, &c. pp. 5, 6.

From the following report, made by the President to the Corporation, it appears that the study of Latin and Greek has only shared the fate which that of pure mathematics underwent a year before.

"At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, held August 19th, 1839 ;

"The President, on the subject of changes made in the Mathematical Department, by virtue of the vote passed on the 26th of May, 1838, — respectfully reports ;

"That the liberty to discontinue the subject of the Mathematics at the end of the Freshman year has been found highly acceptable to both the Students and their parents, and been attended thus far with none of the ill consequences anticipated ; few or none qualified to make any important proficiency in the Mathematics, having, it is believed, discontinued altogether ; and, from the numbers who chose the second and the highest course, there is reason to conclude, that the election which has been given, has had a direct tendency to encourage those capable of profiting by the study of that branch, to pur-

sue it, and to stimulate those, who possess decided mathematical talents, to aim at acquiring a knowledge of its most abstruse and difficult parts. In a class of fifty-five, only eight discontinued the study of Mathematics, and of the remaining forty-seven, thirty-two took the first course, three the second course, and twelve the third course, during the first term. In the second term, the class being reduced to forty-eight by discipline and taking up connexions, six only discontinued the study, and of the remaining forty-two, twenty-seven took the first course, four the second course, and eleven the third course. The result is considered by the head of that department, as proving most decidedly the superiority of the voluntary system, and the practicability of adapting different courses of instruction to different classes of students, and as being in a high degree satisfactory and successful, and as promising great advantages by the new opportunity the elective system offers, of introducing improvements in the details of instruction.

"The success of this experiment on the effect of the elective system of study in the Mathematical Department, has revived the wish of those friendly to its introduction into the other departments, and particularly into those of Greek and Latin. Both the Professors in these departments have expressed their concurrence in such a change, and their opinion that the effect would be rather to elevate and extend attainments in these branches, than to lower and reduce them.

"In conforming with these views, the President respectfully submits a series of Resolutions, founded upon the same general principles heretofore adopted in relation to the Mathematical Department, for the consideration of this Board." — *Report*, &c. pp. 4, 5.

The magnitude of these changes can be understood only by knowing how much time and attention were given to these branches under the old system. The study of pure mathematics was formerly pursued during the Freshman and Sophomore years, at the rate of five exercises a week for the first year, and four exercises a week for the second. Now, any student who sees fit, and who can obtain, if under age, the permission of his parent or guardian, may discontinue the study in this department at the end of the Freshman year, and give up thereby nearly one half of the amount of mathematical knowledge, which was formerly requisite for a degree. The study of the ancient languages, on the old system, extended through three years of the undergraduate course; it

may now, at the option of the student, be cut short at the end of the first year. As the classical studies of the Sophomore and Junior years, owing to the pupil's advanced state and increased facilities of learning, were of a higher order, and extended over far more ground in proportion to the time employed, than those of the preliminary and the Freshman course, we may fairly state, that the College does not now require more than one half the amount of classical learning, which was formerly deemed essential to a degree. The change, therefore, considered only in its immediate results, is one of a very sweeping character ; and the arguments by which it is supported, as we shall endeavour to show, really cover the whole ground, and, if they amount to any thing, justify an entire relinquishment, if the pupil pleases, of the three great branches of study, the pursuit of which is already so materially abridged. A new light has dawned upon the friends of liberal studies, and a measure has been quietly introduced, which places the whole scheme of a college education on an entirely new foundation.

We believe, that this change has grown out of the earnest desire entertained by the managers of the College, that the institution should not lag behind the opinions and improvements of the day. No bigoted attachment to old forms and methods has been permitted, of late years, to fetter the progress of this ancient seminary of learning. Its halls, designed for active studies, have never been made the retreats of learned indolence ; and a fresh zeal for reform has of late rendered them the theatre of changes, quite as numerous as are consistent with prudence and due deliberation. Though our higher institutions of learning do not require so frequent alterations, as are necessary for the common schools and inferior seminaries, to keep them adapted to the increasing population and shifting manners of a new country, yet they cannot go on in the beaten track of centuries, without soon finding their influence and usefulness materially impaired. The several boards of management of Harvard College seem to be fully aware of this truth ; and enlarged means of instruction, improved discipline, and a rising standard of scholarship, attest the practical success of their endeavours to keep pace with the spirit of the times. While engaged in such a career, experiments must be made. The effect of new plans of education cannot always be made to appear from antecedent

reasoning; it must be ascertained from experience. The College has shown no reluctance to make trials, and no unwillingness to retrace its steps, when the results have been unfavorable. We consider the present introduction of the *Voluntary System* in the studies of mathematics, Latin, and Greek, as one of these experiments, and we believe that the scheme will be abandoned, as readily as it was taken up, if the issue should prove that the change is inexpedient.

Having said thus much, we have no hesitation in avowing disbelief of the expediency of this measure, and entire dissatisfaction with the arguments by which it is supported. There is no inconsistency between this avowal and what has just been remarked in favor of testing new plans by experience. Experiments are not to be made at undue cost. Their proper range is confined to those subjects, where the injury arising from a possible failure is far more than balanced by the good which will be obtained, if there should be a prosperous result. The trial should not be made on several objects at once, nor conducted in such a manner, that the injury arising from ill success should be in great part irreparable. The voluntary system might be more safely applied to the study of Latin and Greek, if the experience of more than one, or even two years, had proved its beneficial or harmless effects in the case of Mathematics. It might be tested with far less risk, than by applying it at once to each of the three great branches of learning, which the judgment and experience of centuries have approved as the only proper basis of a liberal education. In the estimation of many persons, a knowledge of Greek is far less essential than that of Latin. Why not ascertain whether the great proportion of young students, if allowed their own choice, would not entirely abandon the study of the former language, before giving them an opportunity of throwing up the latter along with it? Why not make the study, at first, optional only for the Junior year, instead of putting the Sophomore year along with it, and thus hazarding more than half the classical instruction, which is given in the whole college course? There is an old adage about the *experimentum in corpore vili*, which the authors of such a plan might well keep in view. The College, indeed, considered as an aggregation of instructors and means of learning, has a continuous existence, and can at any time, without great loss, return to a position,

which it has injudiciously quitted. But, when viewed as a collection of students, preparing themselves for the duties of after life, the matter assumes a different aspect. A generation of undergraduates continues only four years; and the introduction of a new system of education is for them a final and decisive measure. Its evil effects in their case cannot be repaired, and, in the case of an unlucky experiment, they will have fair ground of complaint.

Our readers will wish to know on what grounds this important step has been taken by the College. They are fully set forth in the pamphlets now before us, two of which are entirely devoted to an exposition and defence of the new system. In the remaining one, the Chairman of the Visiting Committee presents very briefly some considerations, which may be regarded in legal phrase as a *caveat* to the proposal of the Corporation. As our wish is to lay open the whole subject for discussion, we shall give as full a summary, as our limits will permit, of the arguments in favor of the scheme, and then endeavour to present some views, which may lead to a different conclusion. President Quincy's "Remarks," though evidently drawn up in haste, show the fruits of much reflection on the matter, and present as able a defence of the project, as its friends can desire. The Chairman of the select Committee, to whom the subject was referred by the Overseers, gives a brief but able argument in favor of the plan, considered from a somewhat different point of view.

The President states, that "a desire to open the University to a larger class of persons, has long been the wish of the friends of the Institution, and is apparent in its laws." He thinks, that "the amount of Greek and Latin, exacted as a condition of a degree," prevents many parents from sending their sons to the College, because they regard such studies as a waste of time and labor. By a resolution passed sixteen years since, the College was opened to students not candidates for a degree, and they were permitted to choose such studies as they preferred, and to pursue them exclusively. But they could not in this way obtain a degree, and the certificate, which was offered them, of proficiency in certain departments, was deemed valueless, and remained unclaimed. The plan failed in consequence, but few persons taking advantage of the opening. A prescribed course of classical studies, as a condition of receiving college honors, becomes

with many a student "a positive obstacle in the way of his joining the Institution; and the benefits of its approved apparatus and of its eminent professors are, in consequence, confined to those, who coincide in opinion as to the benefits of such a course."

It appears, therefore, that at least one of the objects held in view by the authors of the new system, is to increase the number of students in the College; or, in other words, to render it more popular. It seems, that many will not join the institution, even with the privilege of selecting their own studies, unless they can obtain a degree. Therefore, give them a degree also, and in this way "open the University to a larger class of persons." It is further urged, that the effect of the new scheme, instead of depressing the standard of classical learning at Cambridge, will be to elevate it, — "to make it more thorough, general, exact, and profound." No real standard of scholarship, it is said, has ever existed at Cambridge, or, as far as known, at any other college in this country. One can be created only by confining the appropriate honors to those who have successfully passed through the ordeal of a searching examination. Such a trial is the only test of scholarship, and without it no standard exists, that is not "fictitious, formal, or imaginary." The means of classical studies may be increased, and more time and labor be expended upon them; but, so long as the diplomas are all couched in the same terms, so long as no distinction is made between those who have used these advantages and those who have neglected them, no real test or criterion of scholarship exists. By the new system, a positive standard will be created; for the ordinary diploma, which every student receives at Commencement, will be accompanied with special certificates, stating what voluntary studies he has pursued, and what proficiency he has made in each, as determined by a thorough and searching examination.

But the question immediately occurs, Why not convert the ordinary College diploma into such a test of scholarship, by granting it to those only who are able to pass the strictest ordeal, which the instructors may choose to devise? The answer is very briefly given, — that the authorities of the College have "never dared" to take such a decisive step. It is said, that the friends of classical learning are not so numerous in the community as its opponents; that the latter

form an influential, wealthy, and popular class, whose "countenance and patronage are all essential to the support of such institutions." To make a thorough examination in these studies the criterion of a degree, would be to "deprive the seminary of one third, if not one half, of every graduating class; and to give offence to a most important portion of the community." It would be unwise and improper to make the only certificate of having received a college education depend on a greater proficiency in some branch of learning, than what most of the intelligent and influential minds in the country deem necessary or useful.

If those who will study Latin and Greek only by compulsion are permitted to quit the unprofitable task, the willing and ambitious students will be relieved from a serious hinderance to their progress, while the whole time and attention of the instructors will be given to those who can make a proper use of such advantages. Even those who leave the classical department at the end of the Freshman year, it is expected, will apply themselves with fresh ardor and diligence, in view of a strict examination which they must pass, before they will be permitted to make a bonfire of the hated grammars and dictionaries. As to the question, who should continue, and who be permitted to resign these pursuits, it is thought that parents and guardians can decide better than the College. They know the characters and destinations of their sons and wards, and are most interested in their making a judicious choice. And there is no reason to apprehend, that a large portion of each class will take advantage of this offer, and leave an unpopular department. On this point, we quote the President's own language, with some of his concluding remarks.

"There are principles existing in human nature, and in the relations of college life, which are conservative of the affection for the classics, and which you can no more generally eradicate, than you can annihilate emulation, pride, love of distinction, taste, and the desire of acquaintance with the eminent men and works of every age.

"The result of the experiment in the Mathematics is conclusive, it is apprehended, on this point. Of all studies in the College, none is so unpopular as this. The Professor of Mathematics thought, previous to the experiment, that one half of each class might quit that study. In fact, in a class of fifty-four, only seven quitted it. And so little did the Professor expect any great number to join the third course, extending

through the four College years, that he anticipated only *one*. Whereas thirteen took the highest course. And the consequence is, that a greater number of individuals more highly instructed in that branch will be now sent from the College, than were ever sent heretofore.

"The repugnance to the learned languages is much less than to the mathematics, and the inducement to their study far greater; so that the apprehension of an alarming defection may be considered as in a great degree unfounded.

"There is also an undefined apprehension that the permission of any portion of a class to quit Latin and Greek at the end of the Freshman year, will have a tendency to lower the estimate of the value of those languages in the community; that no more will be required in other colleges, where the examinations will be only formal; and that the amount of classical attainment will be thus essentially diminished. But the estimate of the importance of classical learning does not depend upon college requisitions, but upon the predominating opinion of intelligent minds in the community.

"Now, if these minds are satisfied that the object and tendency of the new system is to elevate, and not to depress; to introduce more thorough and exact attainment, and to make the knowledge of the classics more profound; they will find that their prejudices in favor of those languages are sustained, and not opposed, and the end they earnestly desire advanced.

"As to the character of a college, it depends, like the character of an individual, upon what it does, — upon its actions, — its effects. Now a college which should send forth only two thirds, or even one half of its graduates, thoroughly educated by a known and seen standard, by which they were faithfully tried, and rejected if found wanting, and if approved receive the appropriate honor, will do more for the cause of classical learning, than twenty colleges which send forth all their members tried by no standard, without any evidence of attainment, except having passed through a prescribed process, and where what they have done is a matter of faith, and not of sight." — *Remarks*, &c. pp. 17 – 19.

The Chairman of the Committee, to whom this subject was referred by the Overseers, welcomes the new system, because it evinces that a principle of progress and improvement exists within the College. The principal advantage expected from the measure is, that it will enable each student, soon after he enters college, to select and pursue his studies with a view to his chosen profession and his probable destination in life. This period is not thought too early for making

such a choice, and the selection may be made by the pupil and his parents better than by his instructors. When the boy can see the direct connexion between his present pursuits and his future employments, — his business for life, — he will study under a fresh stimulus. He will at any rate exert himself to more purpose in the branches which he himself has chosen, than in the tasks imposed upon him against his will, in which he can only be an obstacle and a discouragement to the progress of others. It is said, that the effect of the new system will be to change the College into a University, a consummation of which its friends have always been greatly desirous. The leading idea in this plan is declared to be coincident with the great principle of the University system; that no attempt should be made to induce all students to pursue the same branches, or to follow each study to the same degree of advancement. The character and value of the College diploma will be improved. It will tell, not what the individual has professed, but what he has done, during the four years of his undergraduate life.

Such is a brief synopsis of the arguments, by which this new application of the Voluntary System to College studies is supported. To give some idea of the details of the plan, and of the manner of carrying it into effect, we subjoin in part the rules adopted by the Faculty soon after the decision by the Overseers.

"1st. The Freshman Class shall have no *Elective* studies; and their *Prescribed* studies shall be Mathematics, Greek, Latin, and History.

"2d. The *Prescribed* studies during the Sophomore year shall be English Grammar and Composition, Rhetoric and Declamation, one Modern Language, and History. The *Elective* studies shall be Mathematics, Greek, Latin, Natural History, Civil History, Chemistry, Geology, Geography, the Use of the Globes, or any Modern Language; so far as the means of such instruction are within the resources of the University.

"3d. The *Prescribed* studies during the Junior year shall be English Composition, one Modern Language, Logic, Declamation, Physics, Psychology, Ethics, Forensics, and History. The *Elective* studies shall be a more extended course in Psychology and Ethics, and any of the elective studies above enumerated.

"4th. The *Prescribed* studies during the Senior year shall

be Rhetoric, English Composition, Political Economy, Constitutional Law, Forensics, Theology, History, and Declamation. The *Elective* studies shall be Political Ethics, a more extended course in Physics, and any of the elective studies above enumerated.

"5th. Four weeks at least before the close of the Second Term, every student shall make a written statement to the Faculty of the elective studies he wishes to pursue the following year; accompanied, if he be under age, by an application from his parent or guardian; it being understood that the branches elected shall be sufficient with the prescribed studies in the opinion of the Faculty to occupy his time; and the arrangement thereupon made shall be binding for one year.

"8th. The extension of the *Elective* privilege, herein provided for, makes necessary some change in the principle and mode of the assignment of parts at Commencement, — which shall be as follows. From two thirds of the Students of the Class which is to graduate, who are marked the highest, twelve shall be selected, according to their rank in Themes, Forensics, and Elocution, to whom shall be assigned Exercises in English Composition. From the same two thirds four students shall be selected for performances in Greek and Latin, according to their proficiency in those languages; two Exercises to be in each language, one of which shall be the Salutatory Oration. The performances, with the exception of the Salutatory and Valedictory Orations shall have no discriminating titles, and none shall take more than ten minutes in speaking. They shall be single parts and arranged in an order to be determined at each assignment. The same rule shall be applied to the distribution of parts at Exhibitions, so far as is practicable.

"9th. To the end that precise information of the standing of Students may be given, the names of not more than ten of the highest Students of the graduating class, in each department, shall be published in a tabular form with the order of Exercises at Commencement; of whom the three highest shall be numbered *one*, and the remainder shall be numbered *two*. The aggregate rank of the above Students, being the result of the whole College course, shall also be published."

In the estimation of most persons, this subject owes its chief interest to its connexion with the cause and prospects of classical learning in this country. In the vicinity of Harvard College, at least, it derives additional importance from its bearing on the character and future position of that institution. The friends of sound learning and of an enlarged and

liberal scheme of college education have always rested their hopes on this time-hallowed seminary. Its age and rich endowments, — rich at least in comparison with other American colleges, — its numerous professorships and abundant means of illustrating the different sciences, its excellent library, and above all the characters of the men to whom are intrusted the management of its concerns, all gave good reason to hope, that the interests of letters and scholarship in this country would here be cherished, and so directed as to affect most widely and permanently the national character. From its independent position, it was thought, that, far from truckling to the spirit of the times, it might aspire to guide and elevate this spirit. It was created in order to influence, and not solely to be influenced by, the opinions of the community.

Such indeed is the nature of every college, that deserves the name. It teaches the teachers. It guides those whose future office will be to guide others. It sends forth the men who are to enlarge the domain of science and learning, who alone will be capable of appreciating high literary and scientific effort. Of course, there are numerous exceptions; for the self-taught, especially in this country, have often done more in scientific discovery, sometimes also in the sphere of scholarship and recondite studies, than those who are said to be liberally educated. The raw recruit has sometimes beaten the trained soldier. But, for all that, it would be no mark of prudence in a country, to do without an organized and disciplined force altogether, and to trust its defence entirely to "citizen-soldiers." Just so in the struggles and conquests of science, in vigorous efforts made for the advancement of learning. We want our trained bands, as well as the irregular volunteers. And the training must be exact, thorough, long continued. Colleges are instituted for this purpose, to rear up a small number, whose duty and privilege it will be to lead the way in many noble enterprises, to be the first to discover, promulgate, and defend the truth. Such is the theory of these institutions, at any rate, however ill they may have performed their office. Their vocation is to foster *liberal* studies, to keep up departments of knowledge, which would otherwise decay and die out, for it is not worth the while for the mass of the community to attend to them. It is not necessary, for instance, that the bulk of any Christian people should be acquainted with the Hebrew lan-

guage ; but it is very much for the interests of such a people, that a few among them should be able to read the primitive records of their faith in the original tongue. To seek to render the education given in colleges too practical, to adapt it too closely to the wants and opinions of the whole people, to give it the very form and pressure of the times, is wholly to mistake the object and appointed limits of these seminaries. It is to place them on the same footing with common schools. We do not say, to *degrade* them to the same level, because here is no question about rank or precedence. The difference is simply one of function. That large numbers now receive a college or university education is a fact, that may seem to contradict this theory. When considered by itself, it must be admitted, the number is large, and we are glad that it is so. But when viewed in reference to the whole population, when compared with the millions who receive only a school education, the number appears very small. Our position is, that the managers of these higher seminaries have no right to alter the quality or the quantity of the instruction given, for the mere purpose of increasing the number of pupils. The object of colleges and universities is, to give the best possible education to a few. The object of the common school system is, to give a good education to the greatest possible number.

We are ashamed to dwell on such obvious considerations ; but the whole gist of the question about the new plan of studies in the College depends upon them. Hitherto, it has been the boast of Harvard College, and the leading principle of its management, to raise the standard of scholarship in the country ; to increase the accuracy and the extent of the studies, which go to make up what is called a liberal education. And its efforts in this way have been eminently successful. The requisitions for admission to the Seminary have gone on constantly increasing of late years. The examinations at entrance have become more severe ; a greater amount of preparatory studies is required, and greater thoroughness in those which were exacted before. Take the department of Greek, for instance. Students are now required, on admission, to write Greek prose with tolerable correctness, a point to which no attention was paid, even during the undergraduate course, till within ten years. The new and excellent "Greek Reader" by Professor Felton will be required

after the next Commencement, and the quantity and difficulty of the extracts therein given will take six months more of study, than the manual by Jacobs, which is now in use. The studies after admission have been increased in a still greater ratio. New professorships have been established, and the range of former ones has been widely increased. Till very recently Civil History was hardly studied at all in the College. Now a course in it extends through the whole four years. Several branches of Natural History are taught, which were formerly neglected altogether. In fact, it would be easy to go through every department of instruction, and show a large increase of means and requisitions, that has taken place within a short period. Certainly, the effect of all these measures has not been to enlarge the number of undergraduates. Such a result was probably not contemplated by the movers of the improvements. The principal, if not the sole, object with them, was to raise the standard of a college education, and to this end their labors have been most effectual.

With this view of the past conduct of the institution, and this opinion respecting its legitimate objects, many of its friends saw with regret a resolution suddenly proposed, and hastily passed, for effecting a radical change in the course of studies ; a measure avowedly supported, in great part, on the ground of its being a necessary concession to the belief of many persons, who do not perceive the practical utility of certain branches of instruction, and wish to see others substituted for them. We say, supported *in great part* on this ground ; for, though the author of the " Remarks " argues at great length to show, that the results of this step will not be injurious, but rather beneficial, to the classical studies in the College, it is easy to see, that this consideration was a secondary one, and is now brought forward not as the original object of the measure, but in order to excuse and palliate it. The intent of making the change is directly and fully avowed in the beginning of the " Remarks " ; to obtain the good will of a large class in the community, whose " countenance and patronage are all essential to the support " of the College, and who hold it a mere waste of time and labor for anybody to study Latin and Greek. In the remainder of the pamphlet, which is occupied with the argument to prove, that classical studies will be more effectually pursued and to a

greater extent on the voluntary system, than on the one previously in use, we cannot but consider the writer as endeavouring to convince himself, and as not succeeding very well in the task either. But, with the friends of classical learning, the whole question hinges upon this point, and we shall therefore briefly examine the reasoning and the facts, and endeavour to show why they are not conclusive.

The advantages of the new plan of classical studies must be tried in comparison with the one which existed in the College a year or two since, and which is still in force as to the Freshman class. Neither in the "Remarks," nor in the "Report" of the committee, is there any allusion to the system of dividing the classes into three sections according to proficiency, the study of Latin and Greek being carried on in each section independently of the others. Nor was this subject mentioned in the discussion before the Overseers, so far as we have heard; though it is easy to show, that all the advantages now claimed exclusively for the voluntary system belong also to this arrangement, and were actually experienced under its operation. On their admission to the College, the previous attainments of all the pupils being ascertained by the preliminary examination, they were arranged in three divisions, and instruction was given separately to each, their tasks being proportioned to their abilities. As often as there appeared occasion, individuals were transferred from one section to another, and thus pupils of equal diligence and ability were constantly classed together. This plan was introduced about eight years since, and was continued in force with all the classes for several years, with obvious and excellent effect. It excited no discontent; it removed all impediment to the progress of the willing and the ambitious; it saved others from being dragged forward with a rapidity beyond their strength or inclination; and it supplied a fresh stimulus to exertion in the prospect of being advanced to a higher section. An incidental advantage was perceptible in its effect upon the schools and academies, where students are fitted for college. Instructors saw that their reputation was at stake in securing for their respective pupils, not only free admission, but such a place in the divisions of the class, as evinced the comparative exactitude and completeness of their preparatory studies. It is in view of this good effect, probably, that the system is still retained as to the Freshman class. About two

years since it was given up as to the Sophomores and Juniors, to make way for still another plan, by which, the whole class appearing together at the exercise, and remaining there for a longer time, an opportunity was afforded to the Professors of giving more oral instruction, and thus uniting the advantages of a lecture with those of a simple recitation. We would call attention, in passing, to the fact, which appears from these statements, that the voluntary system now introduced makes the third important change in the mode of pursuing classical studies, that has been introduced into the College within eight years. We hope those persons, who are so anxious after reform and progress in our systems of education, will see in this fact some evidence, that the College is disposed "to prove all things," as well as to "hold fast that which is good." For ourselves, having perfect confidence in the watchfulness and intelligence of the managers of the institution, and being satisfied of their anxiety to keep pace with all the improvements of the day, we will merely hint, that *too* frequent alterations may do harm, as some confusion is always incident to their introduction, and the possibility of an evil result is enough to outweigh the prospect of a slight good.

We are here considering only that portion of the "Remarks," in which it is attempted to prove, that the voluntary system is an improvement upon the one formerly in use, in respect even to the effect upon the study of Latin and Greek, so that the cause of classical learning will not be injured, but benefited by its introduction. Now, it is apparent, on the slightest consideration, that every one of the assumed beneficial effects, in this respect, of the new measure took place equally under the previous scheme, — that of division according to proficiency. Able students were not kept back, feeble or indolent ones were not goaded on beyond their strength. Certificates might have been offered, — we believe they were, — that the pupil had belonged to the advanced sections, and had pursued his studies to the furthest possible limit. Indeed, all the machinery, if it may so be called, of the new plan, — the rigid and prolonged examinations, the different certificates given, the variation in form of the usual College diploma, so that it shall indicate exactly the attainments of the student, — is no necessary adjunct of the voluntary system, more than of any other. It is all appli-

cable to the former arrangement; — a large portion of it was actually thus applied. The examinations on the second plan above described, — that whereby the whole class appeared together at the exercise, — were made as severe and complete, as we believe to be practicable. They extended through several days; they were conducted both orally and in writing; the committee and the instructors took part in the work. To do more than this would be to worry both students and examiners with an interminable and intolerable task. In short, the only essential difference between the voluntary system and those formerly in use consists in the permission accorded by the new scheme, to any student who sees fit, to quit the department altogether. It behoves those who make the assertion we are now considering, — that the classical standard of the College will be elevated by this change, — to show that one student will probably make more progress, because his companion makes no progress at all. In order that A and B may become better scholars, it is not necessary that C and D should give up study altogether. If they recited together, if they were compelled to advance *pari passu*, there would be some truth in the assertion. But this course is not necessary, and was not adopted in the unexceptionable plan, which existed in the College for several years. That the instructor will be enabled to bestow more time and attention on the able and industrious scholars, if released from the charge of the feeble and the indolent, is certainly true. But we presume that this argument will not be pressed by the favorers of the plan, because it would be equally cogent in favor of a great extension of the system. It would prove, that one or two of the ablest pupils in each department should be selected, and all the means of the College be applied for their benefit, leaving the remainder of the class to act as they pleased. If the instructers are not numerous enough for the execution of their duties, their number should be increased. If the funds of the College will not admit of this, then the benefit of their instruction should be divided equally as far as it goes. So long as the institution retains any pupil in its embrace, it is bound to give him a full share of the advantages of the place. If his capacity be limited, and his application small, even more pains should be taken to make up for his deficiencies. Others will get on with less help.

Much is said of a classical "standard" in the "Remarks." We do not perceive any justness in the application of the term. By a college *standard* in any study, we understand the average degree of proficiency attained by the students in this particular branch. If any pupil fails to reach this point, he is said to fall below the standard, and becomes subject to censure, or may be removed from the institution. Hence we speak of *raising* or *lowering* the standard, meaning thereby the greater or less attainments, which the College absolutely requires. But, in the pamphlet before us, the word is used as indicating that *evidence* which a scholar gives of his attainments, by passing a severe examination before he receives a degree. Therefore it is said, that no classical standard exists "in Harvard, nor, so far as is known, in any college of this country." It is perfectly obvious, that "standard" is here confounded with the *proof* publicly given, that the standard has been attained. Such a use of the word is certainly allowable in the looseness of conversation, as when we speak of the patterns or models, made by Mr. Hassler for the American government, as being the standard of weights and measures; though they are, in fact, only the tests by which ordinary instruments are tried, the actual standard of weights and measures being an abstract quantity. But this application of the word by the author of the "Remarks" covers the whole fallacy of his argument. If no standard of classical studies has hitherto existed at Cambridge, and if one is to be created by this system, the change is surely advisable. But we mean hereby "a certain degree of proficiency," which the student must attain before graduating; otherwise the proposed alteration offers in this respect no advantage whatever. It is a matter of perfect indifference for the cause of sound learning, if the student has made great acquisitions, whether he manifests them publicly, by submitting to severe tests, or not. The knowledge he has gained will be equally beneficial both to the public and to himself, though he may not have displayed it just before Commencement to a board of examiners. Of course the author does not mean, that no degree of proficiency in classical studies has ever been attained "in Harvard, nor in any college of this country."

He means by "standard" nothing but the examination preparatory to receiving a degree, and as this could be in-

stituted quite as well on the old system as on the new, it is difficult to see where the force of the argument lies. Only a portion of the class, it is true, will in this way be subjected to the test; but on the former plan also, if deemed advisable, some of the students might be excused from the examination without allowing them to give up all the previous studies. Because a pupil has not made such good use of his time, as to be able to pass "a thorough, searching, individual examination," it is no sign that he cannot succeed in a less trying ordeal; *a fortiori*, it is no reason why he should cease to study at all. And why should such peculiar importance be attributed to the examination before graduating? Examinations have always been frequent in every department throughout the college course. "But success in them is not made the condition of receiving a degree." It is *virtually* such a condition. If a student should fail entirely in several of these trials, and show thereby that he was wasting his time, or was unable to profit by the peculiar advantages afforded him, he would not surely be allowed to remain in the class. His friends would be advised to remove him from the institution. Such a scrutiny indicating with sufficient correctness the standing of every member of the College, the Faculty can at any time determine what amount of idleness, what degree of incapacity, shall be deemed a proper cause for displacing an undergraduate, and thereby depriving him of his degree. Thus, it is the instructors' own fault, if precisely such a "standard," as is described in the "Remarks," does not already exist at Cambridge.

We repeat it, therefore, *the only essential* feature of the voluntary system is the permission accorded to every student who may see fit to do so, to give up at the end of the Freshman year the study of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics altogether. No advantage whatever can be claimed for this system but what consists in the simple fact, that a young man may now receive the usual college diploma, and go forth to the world as a liberally educated person, on the strength of one half the classical and mathematical knowledge which was formerly required for a degree. We are well aware, that the question about the expediency of the change, even under this form, is a debatable one, and that men of intelligence and sound judgment, after attentively considering it, may arrive at opposite conclusions. We are willing to join issue

on this point, and therefore have endeavoured to clear up the mist that surrounded the subject, and to show that the matter in dispute does not relate to one or another method of pursuing classical studies to the best advantage, but to the expediency of relinquishing these studies, either in part, or altogether. To do this, it was necessary to go somewhat into the details of college management and instruction; but this hardly requires an apology, for even the *minutiæ* of the system are not without interest to many persons more or less directly connected with such institutions, and to all who have at heart the welfare and progress of our higher seminaries of learning.

A partial relinquishment of classical studies is spoken of as the only effect of the voluntary system. And this is true for the present time. But, if the arrangement continue in force, the ultimate result will too probably be the abandonment of such studies altogether. Whatever arguments are adduced in the pamphlets before us, founded on the supposed practical inutility of Latin and Greek, and on the opposition made by many persons to the study of these languages, are even more cogent against wasting time in the acquisition of a mere smattering of lore. If good classical scholars are not wanted in the community, poor ones are still less needed. If it be not worth while to read Livy and Tacitus, Horace and Juvenal, it is idle to study the Latin grammar. The parent may well complain, if his son is obliged to spend three or four years in fitting for college, by prosecuting studies which he may relinquish within one year after admission, when his knowledge of them is still so insufficient, that he can hardly construe a physician's recipe, understand the technical designation of a writ, or stumble through a chapter in the Greek Testament. It is surely unprofitable and vain to erect a scaffolding where we have no intention of building a house, — to sow grain which we are fully satisfied will not pay for reaping. And to acquire the mere elements of the learned languages, in order to fit one's self for college, so far as they are concerned, is mere cellar-work and scaffolding. In schoolboy phrase, it is downright "digging." The labor of the Freshman year, at the most, adds only the ground-floor of the structure. Only when near the close of the college course is a taste for classical pursuits usually formed, for then only the masterpieces of ancient genius, the odes of Horace,

the striking pages of Tacitus, the orations of Demosthenes, the poems of Homer, are read and understood. Then only the toil of "construing and parsing" becomes secondary to the application of the higher laws of criticism and taste, to the appreciation of style, imagery, argument, and thought. To stop short of this point is to throw away most of the previous labor. The concession to the opponents of such studies will be rightly deemed insufficient to purchase peace. In President Quincy's own language, — "a principle of this kind will be attended with the common results of half-way measures. They neither satisfy the friends nor foes of classical learning."

We are aware, that this argument has a double edge. It may be urged, that, since the studies of an undergraduate must at any rate stop far short of thorough scholarship, there is no reason why he may not relinquish a particular pursuit as well at the end of the first, as of the third, year of his college course. We may be asked, why not continue classical instruction throughout the Senior year, since the time and labor of scholars so far advanced must be bestowed proportionally to still greater advantage? The answer is an obvious one. In the pursuit of every branch of learning and science, there is a point where oral instruction, the assistance of others, ceases to be necessary; and, if the pupil chooses to go beyond it, he can do so *suo Marte*, through the impetus acquired by previous training. The goal selected for the termination of the classical course, as we believe, was happily determined by the old plan at Cambridge. It was placed sufficiently far off. The pupil was required to read a portion, at least, of all the more distinguished Latin poets and historians. He was familiar with the style, if not with all the writings, of Cicero, Livy, and Tacitus, of Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal. Most of the students at the time of graduating, we presume, could read Latin prose with fluency, and the works of the poets without any exhausting effort. Their attainments in Greek were equally satisfactory, if we take into account the greater copiousness and difficulty of the language. They read large portions of Homer, several books of each of the three principal historians, and two or three tragedies. In short, the training was carried so far, that at any subsequent period of life, if taste and leisure should prompt them to resume their classical studies, they might do

so with ease in retirement, without further aid than could be readily obtained from books. They were rendered independent of an instructor. An avaricious reckoning of time and labor, an extreme desire to economize for the benefit of other pursuits, might perhaps have withdrawn a single author or a few months of study from this course without material disadvantage. But to strike off two whole years, and those far the most important ones, would be fatal to the only object held in view from the very beginning. In such case, it would be better for the student, if he had never opened a Latin grammar, but spent his time on something else.

The voluntary system, therefore, if continued in force, must result in the entire abandonment of classical studies by every pupil, who, at this early period of life, has not sufficient forethought and self-denial to encounter what must be at the outset a repulsive task. Consistency requires this enlargement of the plan, for the cause and the arguments of every opponent of Latin and Greek will be strengthened by the present concession. The choice must finally be offered to each student, not at the end of the Freshmen year, when he begins to find flowers upon the road, but at the very commencement of his acquaintance with the grammar and dictionary, when nothing but brambles and thickets lie before him. There can be little doubt which way his choice will be determined. But it is worth while to inquire, what will be the probable result, if the choice be offered at the time contemplated under the present arrangement? How many students will probably leave the classical department, if they are permitted to do so at the end of the Freshman year?

The writer of the "Remarks" observes, that the study of Mathematics is the most "unpopular" in the College; yet, when the option was presented, only seven students, out of a class of fifty-four, left that department. "The repugnance to the learned languages," he goes on to say, "is much less than to the Mathematics, and the inducement to their study far greater;" so that there is little fear of a great defection. These statements seem, indeed, to indicate a state of things, that makes the introduction of the voluntary system quite a superfluous measure. If more than seven eighths of each class study Latin and Greek from their own choice, it is obvious, that few persons will be propitiated by a release from the injunction. But the experience which has been had,

since the publication of the "Remarks," puts a different face upon the matter. The option in respect to Mathematics has now been offered to three classes successively, and each year a larger number than before has quitted that department. If the rate of increase continues the same, in about twelve years not one student will continue his Mathematical studies beyond the Freshman class. The experiment in relation to Latin and Greek has been tried but one year, though the choice was offered to two classes, the Freshman and the Sophomore. Of the latter class about one third quitted the department altogether. If the number continues to increase, and at the same ratio as in the Mathematical department, it is very obvious, that the number of volunteers in the study of the classics will soon be reduced to an indivisible quantity. And there is every reason to suppose, that it will thus increase. Classical learning has now for centuries been identified with the idea of a liberal education. It is hallowed by old associations, and academical distinctions seem in a great measure to be founded upon it. But every instance of a student graduating without passing through the old course contributes to weaken the spell; and the establishment of a new set of college honors, entirely independent of the classical department, must soon destroy it altogether. Besides, the opportunity of selecting at will a substitute for the abandoned study from eight or ten branches of learning, — some of which, like the various departments of Natural History, are rather an agreeable relaxation, than a severe discipline of mind, — is flattering to youthful pride. The mere desire of change at the end of the Freshman year, during which a large portion of the time is devoted to the classics, will induce many students to leave the department, though at the end of a few months they may repent of their choice. From these combined causes, there can be little doubt, that in the course of a few years the study of Latin and Greek in the College will be in the same condition as that of Hebrew, which was once enjoined throughout the course, but was afterwards made voluntary, and is now pursued for a few months by about a half a dozen members of each class.

The question before us, then, relates to nothing less than the entire abandonment of classical learning, — the rejection of the idea that it forms a necessary part of a liberal education. We can hardly believe, that the matter presented itself

under this aspect to the Overseers, or they would have taken time for deliberation, and for allowing the subject to be discussed at large and in public, before they decided on a step of such vast importance. We see no call for the measure in the present tendency of opinions, nor in the circumstances of the times. There was a time, when the expediency of classical studies was attacked and defended with zeal, — when the matter was thoroughly examined under all its aspects. The pages of this Journal presented frequent and elaborate essays upon the subject. One of the smaller colleges, indeed, in Massachusetts, actually prepared a course of English education, and organized separate classes for those who wished to obtain the usual degree, but had not time or inclination to study Greek and Latin. But the experiment proved unsuccessful, and was abandoned within two years. The result of the discussion and the experiment, as we believe, was to satisfy the public, that the old course was the only safe and appropriate one. The matter was perceived to belong exclusively to the province of scholars, who alone could determine what course of studies was best calculated to effect that exact and thorough discipline of mind, that enlarged and generous cultivation of all the faculties, which afforded the only sure foundation for effort on the part of those who aspired after high professional eminence, or were ambitious to sustain the interests of literature and science for another generation.

The judgment of those who had the direction of Harvard College was fixed upon this point, and the course of the institution was unwavering. The requisitions for admission went on constantly increasing; the course of study was enlarged; improved methods of instruction were introduced. These efforts, far from being censured by the community in general, were noticed with frequent commendation. Far from paving the way, by a gradual withdrawal of the injunction or by a diminution of the means of classical studies, towards a total relinquishment of them, every thing seemed to announce a determination on the part of the College to preserve and carry forward the standard of scholarship with the utmost speed, that was compatible with the necessities and progress of the country. The friends of the cause, therefore, were not prepared for the announcement of a measure, by which the amount of classical knowledge required for a degree, was at once reduced to one half, and which must re-

sult in the entire abandonment of this branch of learning. There was no pressure from without, and the lesser seminaries apparently had not thought of the change, when this, the oldest and best endowed literary institution in the country takes the decisive step, and, thereby, retraces its own path and undoes entirely its previous labors. It was like striking the flag in the citadel, before any of the outworks had surrendered.

We have no wish to argue the cause of these studies; for to whom can the argument be addressed, but to scholars, who already enjoy and appreciate the rich fruits of the labor of their youth, and with whom, consequently, it would be altogether superfluous? Another and still larger class in the community, is composed of men, who wish their sons to receive those advantages, of which they were themselves deprived in youth by the force of circumstances, and who therefore send them to college for the express purpose of having their studies selected and arranged, as well as proper instruction given. The question cannot be mooted before such persons, for they acknowledge their incompetency to decide the point. Others look upon education only as a means of obtaining success in life, and with them the briefest and the most economical preparation, *cæteris paribus*, is the most satisfactory. They wish to perceive the practical utility of every branch of learning, and its direct connexion with the future employments, for which the individual is designed. General culture is a phrase that has no meaning to them; or, if they acknowledge its importance, it is as a collateral advantage, to be acquired by exercise in those studies, that are essential in the management of business, or to success in professional life. It is not an end, which merits pursuit for its own sake. We are far from objecting to such views; for the wisest men may entertain them under peculiar circumstances, and it is the part of every individual to judge for himself, whether his own situation, or that of his son or ward, is such that it is necessary for him to be governed by these considerations. But we do say, that an education of this sort cannot be obtained at college. Let such an individual's destination in life be what it may, a college diploma is not essential before he can enter upon his course with freedom, and pursue it with success. He may become a merchant, lawyer, physician, or divine, in less time and at less cost,

than by spending four years within the walls of Harvard College, or of any other similar institution. If incompetency or ignorance within the sphere of his own calling is all that he fears, it is not unlikely that he will be surprised himself, after examination, to find how small an amount of preparation is necessary, before he can lay aside this apprehension altogether. Colleges were not instituted for the purposes which he has in view, and any attempt to make them conform to his ends, would be a departure from their original design.

But if education be taken in its widest sense, as that culture by which one may be fitted to sustain with honor all the offices, both public and private, which circumstances may impose upon him, the utility, nay, the indispensableness, of classical studies, as a part of the course, may be safely asserted. We cannot wish a plainer recognition of this truth, or a more concise and satisfactory statement of the reasons on which it is founded, than is afforded by a single sentence in the "Remarks" of President Quincy.

"That there are advantages in the study of the ancient languages, — that they are better adapted than most other studies to inure students to overcome intellectual difficulties, and secure a habit of solid and vigorous application at an early period of life, — that these languages are mixed etymologically with all the languages of modern Europe, and with none more than our own, — that as mere inventions, as pieces of mechanism, they are more beautiful than any of the modern languages, — that the works they contain have longest stood the test of time, and pleased the greatest number of exercised minds, — are reasons why they should be made the groundwork of the early training of all who aim at the distinction of a liberal education." — *Remarks*, &c. p. 17.

A perfect acquaintance with our own language can be acquired only through the medium of Latin and Greek. A full insight into the principles of universal grammar must be gained in the same way. The nomenclature of nearly all the natural sciences, which is common in a great degree to all the nations of modern Europe, can be understood only through an acquaintance with these languages. Many of the most important treatises on science and philosophy, many even of modern date, exist only in Latin, a knowledge of which is just as requisite for the thorough comprehension of Bacon and Descartes, of Leibnitz, Newton, and Euler, as it is for

understanding Horace and Tacitus. The most perfect models of history, poetry, and eloquence, the unchallenged masterpieces of literary genius, untranslated and untranslateable, can be consulted only by the classical scholar. These statements comprise only the undisputed facts respecting the study of the ancient languages, and constitute, therefore, only the opening of the case. But can any education be esteemed exact, complete, and generous, which resigns without a struggle even these advantages? If it was the purpose of the founders of our colleges to afford the means of such an education, and not merely to minister to the wants of those, whose only wish is to know how they may enter upon active life the earliest, and grow rich the fastest, can the studies, which afford even the results above mentioned and no others, with any propriety or justice be banished from these institutions?

If we look at the effect of these studies on the general discipline of the mind, the cultivation and refinement of the taste, and the strengthening of the judgment and the reasoning faculty, their importance is no less obvious and undeniable. Other exercises, it is true, tend towards the same result, so that this advantage cannot be claimed exclusively for the pursuit of classical learning. But we contend, that no more sure and systematic process has been devised for the attainment of this end, than that which consists in the study of Greek and Latin, and of the works that exist only in these languages. Their complex structure and copious vocabulary increase the difficulty of obtaining an accurate knowledge of them, and require an earnest and long continued effort, before this difficulty can be overcome. Habits of close and unremitting application, of accurate analysis, and nice discernment are formed or strengthened in the process, and the labor is cheered by a perception of constant progress, and by the contemplation of the variety and beauty of the works, about which it is employed. It is not the study of words, but of ideas, that occupies the pupil; the power of language to react upon and modify thought is nowhere so clearly perceived, as in the effort to acquire forms of expression, which differ so widely from our own. No one is in so great danger of mistaking words for things, and of using the former in a mechanical way, so that little or no signification is attached to them, as he who knows but one language. Certain formulæ of expression take the place of thought, and the in-

dividual talks or writes for ever, without really enunciating one idea. The labor of acquiring another tongue tears open this curtain of words, and the light which dawns upon the student respecting the real function of language is in exact proportion to the dissimilarity of structure between that other tongue and our own. Knowledge is a state of mind ; perception is a mental act ; to the thinking subject, things are what they appear in his individual conception of them. They have *subjective*, but not *objective* reality. The name belongs to the idea, and not to the object, and an accurate analysis and determination of the idea will follow with certainty only upon an introduction to another set of names, having a very different application. How idle, then, is that distinction between words and things, which is meant to discredit the study of the former, when it is obvious that the idea is what ought to be perfected, and that things, as they exist *per se*, are less intimately connected than words with the thought.

With this view of the beneficial results of studying the ancient languages, with what reason is the praise of utility, even of the most practical and easily appreciated cast, denied to the labor of acquiring them ? In what pursuit are not the faculties required, which are developed and strengthened by this exercise ? To what ends are such means not subservient ? If happiness is the object in view, so far as it is dependent on a well-ordered mind, and the procurement of a train of mental pleasures, inferior to no other in amount or degree, its attainment is secured by such a training. In the biographies of men distinguished in literature and science, in political and professional life, there is no fact more frequently attested, there is no theme on which the individuals themselves more delight to dwell, than the enjoyment derived from the revival and prosecution at intervals of the classical studies of their youth. This particular branch of their early education is marked as leading to such a result, because it fills a larger space in the retrospect of life, having originally extended through several years, and the peculiar characteristics of the objects studied have left a deep imprint on the memory. And if general culture conduces in any degree to success in the pursuit of wealth or reputation, the importance of classical learning, even for these purposes, must be equally admitted. Many, indeed, prosper in these pursuits, without the advantages of such discipline in early life ; but their success is no

more to be attributed to the want of such preparation, than the eminence of many distinguished statesmen of England is to be imputed to their training at Eton and Oxford. On this subject, reasoning from example is but blind work. Great ability will force its way in spite of neglect in early life, or any other adverse circumstance; and Fox and Pitt might have led the House of Commons, though they had not been distinguished as classical scholars. Wealth is sometimes acquired by those who can neither read nor write; reputation has been gained by some men, who never went to school in their lives. But we do not, on this account, deny the necessity of some education, nor cease to maintain schools at the public expense. The utility of many things is acknowledged, though it cannot be demonstrated by *universal* experience.

But the study of Greek and Latin is discouraged because they are *dead* languages, and the acquisition of French and Italian is recommended in their place. If the object of instruction in the languages were to promote intercourse between different nations, there would be some force in this consideration. But the tuition is not directed with a view to enable pupils to converse or correspond with foreigners, occasions for doing which are necessarily very rare in this country. Not one student in a hundred has any expectation of learning to talk in any foreign tongue, and not one in a thousand really acquires this power, except by visiting Europe. The object of study is to become acquainted with the stores of modern literature; and to this end instruction in the modern languages at Cambridge is exclusively directed. Therefore, for the great majority of students, French and German, Italian and Spanish, are just as much dead languages, as Greek and Latin. With this limitation of the objects of instruction, we do not see, why an acquaintance with Homer and Sophocles, with Cicero and Horace, is not quite as desirable as with Dante, Goethe, or Racine. Quite as much pleasure will be derived from the perusal of the former class of writers, and the mental discipline acquired in the effort will be much more exact and valuable. We are far from undervaluing the elegant pursuits of modern literature, now so fashionable among us; but we have no wish to see graver and more important studies laid aside to make room for them. Considered merely as an elegant accomplishment, an acquaintance with the language and literature of the ancients, promises

as much, as familiarity with the finest productions of modern genius. The language of the Greeks, the most dulcet instrument on which the human voice ever played, the most flexible and copious in expressing all the workings of intellect and the modifications of passion, more cunning in its structure than any other on which the grammarian and the philosopher have ever labored, — this wonderful tongue loses nothing by comparison with the sweetness and simplicity of the Italian, or with the richness, pliancy, and strength of the German. For the Latin, it is enough to say in connexion with this topic, that it forms the shortest and most agreeable introduction to all the languages of southern Europe, a thorough knowledge of which cannot be gained without some acquaintance with the source whence they were all derived.

And the productions of the ancients, — how few have been surpassed, or even equalled by the efforts of modern times! Their morality, it is true, was superseded by the birth of our religion; and the state of society and manners, half described, half satirized, by Horace and Juvenal, exists no longer. But their systems of logic and philosophy are even now recovering from a temporary neglect, and furnishing fresh materials for the speculations of our own day. And their oratory lives. It lives in the burning words of modern patriots and statesmen, who have spoken under the inspiration derived from the study of ancient models. It lives in all the triumphs obtained by men who have formed their taste and manner on the old exemplars, so that the eloquence of all modern times has been but one continuous and far-resounding echo of the voices which spoke originally from the Athenian Pnyx and the Roman Forum. And their poets, too, — are their works dead? or is not rather their spirit to be found in the poetical literature of every nation, that rose from the wreck of the Roman empire? The words which were sung by a blind old rhapsodist, as he wandered about the isles and colonies of Greece, after giving form, expression, — ay, birth, — to the whole literature, character, and national institutions of the people to whom he belonged, have come down to us through a period of three thousand years, during which time they have served as a theme for scholars, a model for poets, a study for all who could appreciate what was grand and beautiful in the efforts of human genius.

In vindicating a place for classical studies in the scheme of

a liberal education, we are not actuated by a blind and exclusive admiration of such pursuits, nor do we advocate such excessive and injudicious devotion to them, as in some European institutions has brought discredit on the whole cause of ancient learning. The pride of scholarship has too often degenerated into pedantry ; and, even now, that attention is too frequently wasted on the niceties of philology, which might more profitably be given to the meaning and criticism of particular writers, and to acquiring general views of the literature, considered as a whole. It is equally unwise, to allow such pursuits to monopolize the whole province of education, sacrificing to them all knowledge of the physical sciences, and all study of our own language and literature.

But Harvard College has at no period exposed itself to this reproach, and, least of all, of late years. A mere glance at the scheme of studies, shows conclusively, that something else is studied at Cambridge besides Greek and Latin. Five modern languages, a complete course of physical science, ancient and modern history, English rhetoric and composition, philosophy, natural theology, ethics, political economy, and constitutional law, besides occasional lectures and recitations in natural history, anatomy, and the useful arts, are some of the exercises that hold a place by the side of mathematics and the ancient languages, and, as we conceive, leave little to be desired in point of copiousness and variety. Some may even think, that there is more danger of excess than scantiness, especially when they are told, that these studies are all comprised within the space of four years, and are pursued by students nearly all of whom are much under age. But we had no fears on this score, so long as the three great branches, which have always been considered as the groundwork of a liberal education, were allowed to retain their place, and occupy a fair share of the student's attention. But, if these are now to be pushed out, if the substantial acquirements of classical and mathematical learning are to be buried under this heap of miscellaneous pursuits, we think the wit of man could hardly devise a plan more injurious to the formation of a sound and healthy intellect, and a well-ordered character. The pupil's attention will be distracted, and his mind frittered away by a swift succession of books and subjects, resting on no one of them sufficient time to form habits of patient analysis and careful thought ; to gain solid nutri-

ment for the intellect, or to master effectually the subject of inquiry. At no other period of his life, either before entering college or after graduating, is he annoyed with such a preposterous variety of studies, without having his attention fixed, and the power of concentrated and unremitting application developed, upon one or two points of interest and importance. He will leave college with a smattering of all possible sciences, without being fully or accurately acquainted with any one, and, what is still worse, with desultory habits and an ill-trained mind. It is a matter of evil omen for the coming generation, if the substantial and manly exercises of mind, by which our fathers were trained, are to give way to this passion of knowing every thing, to a superficial information on a great variety of subjects, which ought hardly to be dignified with the name of learning.

A desire of converting the College into a University on the European plan, which is very apparent in two of the pamphlets now before us, seems to have brought about this introduction of the voluntary system and the great enlargement of the academical plan of studies, by which it was preceded. A name is of no great importance, and, if it were, why not assume it at once, since both terms are indiscriminately applied in this country to institutions that hardly rank with respectable high schools? But, if an attempt be made to copy a foreign model in any other respect than the appellation, we hope it will be definitely ascertained what this model is, and what changes are necessary in the constitution of a college in order to transform it into a university. So far as we know, there is little uniformity in the European practice. At Oxford and Cambridge, many colleges form a university, just as many families constitute a community. Certain professors are attached to the university at large, but their offices are mostly sinecures, and degrees are conferred by a board that represents the collected colleges. The London University corresponds very nearly to this plan, there being a central board of examination for the purpose of conferring degrees, to which students are presented by various privileged institutions in the metropolis, such as the University College, King's College, and others. The English scheme, therefore, seems to be, that colleges give the instruction, while the university confers the degrees. In Scotland, the two functions are combined, though there, as in England,

attendance on prescribed classes for a certain period, and passing an examination more or less severe, are the requisites for obtaining the appropriate degree. On the continent of Europe, universities are generally composed of the several faculties of law, theology, medicine, and philosophy or the arts, the last corresponding to our undergraduate course. The different faculties give out their respective degrees, the requisitions being a certain time passed in the institution, or attendance on prescribed courses, and a certain degree of proficiency in several branches, as made apparent by an examination, or presumed from the fact of residence. As an entire set of professional schools is attached to Harvard College, each giving its proper diploma; the title of a university may be justly assumed by this institution, the President and Fellows being the common centre and board of supreme direction, in whose name all the degrees are conferred, and therefore performing the functions of the university proper.

An attempt to copy still further the European scheme must proceed by imitating peculiarities, which are mere accidents of the system, brought about by circumstances in the nature of the country and its civil and literary institutions, and are not essential features of the university plan. Thus there are many offices in these countries, which are conferred upon evidence of remarkable qualifications in some one branch of learning, as the offices under government, and those in the universities themselves and other literary institutions of the country, which are often distributed after a *concourse*, as it is termed, or an open competition before a board of inquiry. This opening to lucrative and honorable situations naturally creates a large body of students, who take what the French call a *speciality*, and either with or without obtaining an ordinary degree for general acquirements, devote their whole time and labor to one department of science or letters, in the view of fitting themselves for office. They remain at the universities for an indefinite period, following their own selected studies. The number of such students, with whom a diploma is no object, naturally lessens the importance attached to common degrees, and therefore many, even of those who do not belong to this class, leave the university without graduating. But the important point for us in the present discussion is, that these degrees are never conferred but upon evidence afforded of proficiency in certain *prescribed* stud-

ies, a greater or less amount of classical learning being an invariable requisition. A student cannot reside at a college for a few years, pursuing what studies he likes, and then claim a degree as a matter of course. The two writers, whom we are now reviewing, appear to think, that this introduction of the voluntary system at Cambridge is a step of approximation to the European university system, whereas, in fact, it is a direct departure from it. It is of great importance to the interests of science and sound learning in this country, that a class of general students should be formed in our colleges, who would devote all their powers to one subject; but the circumstances of the country as yet offer no encouragement for its formation. There are no fellowships here, as at the English universities; professorships are few in number, small in value, and are never conferred after open contest; and public offices are conferred by popular favor on a far different criterion from that of scholastic attainments. Harvard College did all that was possible for this end sixteen years ago, by throwing open the institution to persons not candidates for a degree, who wish to pursue particular studies. She offered to receive such students, but the issue proved there were hardly any to be had. The present measure is nugatory for this purpose, and directly destructive of the only remaining object which our colleges have to pursue, — the maintenance of a high standard of scholarship as essential to a degree.

The plan of allowing undergraduates to select their own studies, never adopted abroad except under the circumstances explained above, is rendered peculiarly objectionable here by another circumstance, by which our own colleges are distinguished from European ones, — the great youthfulness of the students. Except two or three members of each class, whom peculiar circumstances have obliged to commence their education later in life, and the average age of the remainder does not probably exceed sixteen at the time of admission. Many enter two or three years earlier. Is it judicious, or even prudent, to allow such mere boys to select their own studies, and thereby to determine their own education? Will not indolence, or caprice, or the love of novelty, be likely, in a great majority of instances, to direct their choice? Can they, at best, be so competent to decide this point, as men who have made the theory and practice of

education the constant subject of their thoughts and the business of their lives? Many of our most distinguished classical scholars have made themselves such by studies pursued after graduating, youthful carelessness or whim having induced them to neglect in great part the precious advantages of their college life. But the preparation which they were compelled to make, the foundation deep and strong, which they almost unconsciously laid, rendered the task of resumption easy, when the taste and judgment of maturer years, or the force of circumstances, directed a return to the neglected pursuits. To diminish by one half the required amount of classical knowledge in the college course would be to render such a future resumption of these studies impossible, or, at least, to surround it with difficulties which few would have the ardor and perseverance requisite to encounter with success.

But the plan requires that all students, who are under age, should obtain the consent of their parents before relinquishing any branch of study; and it is thought, that in this way the danger of a rash choice will be obviated. Those who urge this feature of the scheme have surely never considered the characters and situation in life of most persons, who in this country send their sons to college. Many have not received a liberal education themselves; nearly all are engaged in the bustle of commerce, the labors of husbandry, or the toils of a profession, and have neither time nor thought to bestow on such a subject. The answer of a parent, consulted for advice by his son under such circumstances, would very naturally be, "Why, that is the very thing for which I sent you to college, — to have your studies selected and your education determined by the authorities there. I know nothing about these things. Take your own choice." In respect to classical studies, the reply of an uneducated parent might chance to be still more peremptory, or very much in the style of the Dutch professor immortalized in the "Vicar of Wakefield." "You see me, young man; I never learned Greek, and I don't find that I have ever missed it. I have ten thousand florins a year without Greek; I eat heartily without Greek, and, in short, as I don't know Greek, I do not believe there is any good in it." This is only too faithful an epitome of the common arguments against classical learning; but we still hope never to hear it sanctioned by the

authority of a future Professor at Cambridge. Yet on one of its public days, since the introduction of the new system, it was our lot to hear from one of the ingenuous youth an argument reminding us strongly of the view of the Dutch professor.

It is argued in favor of the new plan, that it "will tend to connect in the minds of the students their college studies with the pursuits of later life." Their preparatory exercises, it is said, will be better adapted to their future destination, being chosen with direct reference to the profession which they intend to follow. Such reasoning, we cannot but think, shows an imperfect acquaintance with the position and views of the great body of the undergraduates. Not one in ten of them has any idea about choosing a profession till very late in his college course, and the great majority do not decide upon this point till after graduating. At this early age, their own minds are necessarily unsettled upon a subject of so great importance, and what prudent parent will venture to mark out a career in life for his son so many years before he is to enter upon it? The common and very wise course is to leave this matter to be decided by the pupil after he has finished his college studies, and ascertained, from some intercourse with the world at large, what employment is most likely to suit his taste and capacity. Besides, even if it were practicable, would it be worth while for the student, by a special selection and arrangement of his studies, to commence fitting himself for a profession or for any active employment at an earlier period, than is now common in this country? Is there any reasonable apprehension of time being lost before the youthful aspirant is fairly embarked on his voyage? It is the peculiar misfortune of this country, that, the openings into active life being numerous and easy of access, young men are tempted into them with hurried and imperfect preparation, and with their minds still in doubt, whether they have really hit upon the desired and appropriate profession after all. We have lawyers and clergymen enough, who have not attained their majority, and even legislators whose beards are hardly grown. Is it advisable to have them younger still, to abridge still further the period of general studies, to bring down the necessarily narrow and exclusive training for professional pursuits to the very brink of childhood? It is admitted, that the pupil ought first to obtain

"the elements of a general culture;" and how weak, beggarly, and insecure must be this common basis of all effort, if the preparation of it, even by the most highly educated class in the community, must stop short in the student's sixteenth year. It is the curse of professional life, that its jealous nature requires the abandonment of all taste for general literature and science, and the resolute sacrifice of all the discursive exercises of the intellect and the imagination. The neophyte lawyer must imitate the example of Fearne in making a hecatomb of all his books, that are not bound in law-calf, and all his papers, that are not writs or instruments of conveyancing, before he can look forward to the higher honors of the bar and the bench. It is cruel to anticipate the period of this sacrifice, to nip in the bud the first flowers of taste and fancy, to check the earliest developement of the *many-sided* mind. Such a partial culture may indeed produce an able lawyer, a skilful physician, or a sound divine, though even this effect may reasonably be questioned; but for the education of the whole man it is profitless and wrong. It is one branch of that vast system of distributed labor, which condemns some individuals to spend all their lives in making the eighteenth part of a pin.

We have spoken with freedom of the introduction of the voluntary system, and the consequent depreciation of classical studies, at Harvard College, because it seemed to us an unnecessary concession to the utilitarian spirit of the times, and a departure from the wise and generous purposes, for which the institution was established. The change, unless we greatly err, was not desired by the great body of the community, who feel little interest in the conduct of the College, being affected only by its more remote results. And they are wise enough to see, that the higher interests of science and learning, the preservation of a high standard of education and general scholarship, are indissolubly connected with the honor and welfare of the country. The smaller class, who have a more lively regard for the institution to which they are indebted for their own early training, or to whose guardianship and instruction they are about to intrust their sons and relatives, look with surprise and regret upon a measure, which seems like a total departure from the former principles of management, and the effect of which must be to lessen the amount of sound scholarship in the country, and

to lower the estimation in which it is held. They are unwilling, that the College should diminish the magnitude and value of its gifts, for the sake of dispensing them to a greater number of persons. The experience of one or two years will probably show how groundless was the expectation, on which the authors of this system have acted, that a large body of students would be attracted to Cambridge by such a free and conciliatory proposal. Then, if not before, we hope they will be willing to retrace their steps, and to stake the reputation of Harvard College, not on the numbers enrolled in its Catalogue, but on the extent, accuracy, and thoroughness of the education obtained within its walls.

ART. III. — *A Report on the Insects of Massachusetts Injurious to Vegetation.* By THADDEUS WILLIAM HARRIS, M. D. Published agreeably to an Order of the Legislature, by the Commissioners on the Zoölogical and Botanical Survey of the State. Cambridge: Folsom, Wells, & Thurston. 1841. 8vo.

FEW things in the history of Massachusetts have manifested a more enlightened self-interest, than the appropriations for scientific purposes, to which we are indebted for this Report. Public measures of this description are easily misrepresented; and those demagogues, who are the pest and shame of every free community, are always on the watch for subjects which can be thus perverted, since in this way they can turn aside the public mind from too close investigation of their own character and proceedings, and at the same time gain credit for a regard to the interests of the people, while they care for nothing but their own. It is easy to show, that the State is to gain nothing in dollars and cents by such a Report as this, and therefore to represent the pittance by which the State secured the services of this eminent naturalist, as a magnificent and wasteful appropriation, though, in comparison with what would anywhere else be paid for such labors, it was in fact exceedingly small. When an outcry on the subject of economy can be so easily raised, and when jealousy in regard to public expenditure is so easily excited, we think it very honorable to the Massachusetts legislature that they should

have treated this danger with contempt, and taken large views of what concerned the interest of their constituents. We venture to say, that this work before us will survive a thousand state papers which came into existence at the same time, and which are already, like the falling leaves, on the way to their original dust.

Several of the legislatures of the different States, taking the same judicious view of their duty, have made appropriations for geological surveys of their territory, and in that way have brought to light rich and unsuspected treasures, which were hidden beneath their soil, and which might otherwise have lain there for ages longer, useless and unknown to mankind. In these cases there was an obvious inducement to undertake and persevere in such enterprises, since it was certain that mines, quarries, or at least materials for improving the soil, must be discovered ; and each one who builds a house or cultivates a field may hope for direct advantage from the investigation. But when a zoölogical survey is proposed, there is no such immediate inducement to undertake it, and the advantages in prospect are of a kind which it requires some thought and forecast to understand. Still, we do not hesitate to say, that, deservedly honored as Professor Hitchcock's Reports have been, none of them were of greater importance than the one before us. If the same facts respecting insects had been presented to the public a quarter of a century ago, some of her most valuable forest trees might have been saved to New England, vast amounts of the productions of the earth would have been rescued from destruction, and many enterprising men who have made efforts to improve horticulture and its kindred arts, would have been prevented from giving them over in despair. It may be said, that this Report, in many cases, only states the evil, without proposing a remedy. This is true ; but it must be remembered, that no remedy can be devised till the nature of the evil is understood. It is the province of science to detect such facts, and give them to the world ; and then, knowing precisely what needs to be done, the active sagacity of practical men will not be slow to find the sort of antidote wanted. Many a sturdy cultivator, harassed and perplexed by the insidious forays of these unseen marauders, has prayed, like Ajax, that he may have the privilege of fighting them in the light and the day ; and now, when, through the instrumentality of Dr. Harris, his desire is granted, we

may be sure that, even if baffled and defeated for a time, he will at last exterminate the foe. If then no money is to be made in consequence of this Report, there is no doubt that large amounts of agricultural wealth will hereafter be saved from destruction ; and, if any one insists on more direct benefit than this, his expectations are of that kind which it is as hard to gratify as it is easy to form.

It is really curious to see how the animals around us are formidable, not in proportion to their size and presence, but rather to their littleness and obscurity. Since the days of the dwellers in Samaria, we hear of no race of men who are much troubled with lions. That large and powerful beast is easily disposed of. If it resists, it is destroyed ; and if it submits, it is led about in a cage to expire at last "a driveller and a show." But the smaller fry of creation laugh at the idea of such bondage. The mosquito, for example, can no man tame. He sounds his horn through our chambers in wild independence. The blow which we aim at him falls heavily upon our own heads. At the very moment when we are calling ourselves lords of the creation, his venomous bite destroys all our composure of mind, and makes us feel that the little are mightier than the great. The amount of injury inflicted on man by the larger animals, is nothing compared to that which we suffer from these creatures, of no mark nor livelihood, whose insignificance is their shield and safeguard. Dr. Harris has described their persons, traced out their operations, and put the public on their guard against them ; if, after this, we choose to lie still and be eaten by them, the blame and responsibility is our own. As it is not the part of the naturalist to find the remedy, Dr. Harris makes no mention of that, which we have, elsewhere in this journal, declared will be the only effectual one. We mean, adopting retaliatory measures, and giving them to understand that if they eat us, we shall eat them. This is certainly the alternative to which we at last must come ; but at present the public mind is not quite prepared for it, and we have no resource but to keep on in our Florida war against them, in which we can hope neither for vengeance nor victory, and which promises to end only with the history of man.

In preparing such a work as this, there is some difficulty in determining how far it is desirable to give it a scientific

form. It is clearly intended for popular use, and, unless it be easily comprehended, it must be useless to the great body of those for whom the survey was intended. In the case of birds, where the species are comparatively few in number, popular names are sufficient, and it is easy for any one, who attends to the subject, to make himself master of them ; but insects are so overwhelming in numbers, and many of them so obscure in appearance, that a great proportion of them have not been honored with a popular name, and, where they have, it is not always sufficiently distinctive and characteristic to enable any one to identify the creature to which it belongs.

This is forcibly shown by Dr. Harris in relation to the weevil, a notorious depredator, whose name is often heard. It is applied in this country to at least six different insects, two of which are moths, two are beetles, and two are flies. It is a fact, too, that nearly four thousand species of weevil have been scientifically ascertained and described, so that, when the name is used in an agricultural work, the chance is, that neither writer nor reader knows to which of the four thousand the name belongs. No mortal could undertake to christen them with four thousand expressive English names ; and, if it were done, no human memory would hold them. But science has arranged them all under three hundred and fifty-five surnames, requiring only a few other terms, like Christian names, to indicate the various kinds. Thus, the single word *Coleoptera* describes the vast family of beetles, from those which blunder into our faces on a summer evening, to those which afford pleasant relief to pain in the shape of a blister. *Orthoptera* includes the crickets and grasshoppers of the field, and the easy and familiar cockroach of our houses. *Hemiptera* denotes a large and interesting circle, provided with a horny beak for suction, and four wings; such as locusts, tree-hoppers, plant lice, bark lice, mealy bugs, and the like, some of which afford us cochineal, lac, and manna, while of the rest some are unsavory, and all unwelcome. *Neuroptera* describes insects, stingless, but provided with jaws and four netted wings, from the little death-watch, who reminds man of his mortality, to the philanthropic devil's needle, who, for his services in killing mosquitos, deserves a better name. *Lepidoptera* is the name of all the moths, butterflies, and sphinxes, or insects which make their *début* as caterpillars, and afterwards arrive at the dignity of wings with branny scales and a

spiral tongue. *Hymenoptera* applies to bees, wasps, and numberless others with four veined wings, and provided with jaws at one end of the person and a sting at the other. *Diptera* is affixed to those which have a proboscis either horny or fleshy, two wings, and knobbed threads called *poisers* or *balancers* behind them ; and this single term embraces ticks, gnats, mosquitos, horse flies, forest flies, stable and house flies, blow flies, meat flies, and the viviparous flesh flies, flower flies, and fruit flies, not forgetting those distinguished nuisances the wheat and the Hessian flies.

Since a nomenclature of this kind has clear advantages, which can be secured by no other, there is obviously no choice in the matter ; but, lest any one should be needlessly alarmed at the scientific terms which he found it necessary to employ, Dr. Harris has given a preliminary description of insects and their classes, such as could be furnished only by one familiar as he is with the subject, and supplying all the previous information essential to be possessed. We hardly know where to find a summary so condensed, and, at the same time, so complete. It removes all difficulty at the outset ; and thus, while this Report is sufficiently scientific in its execution, to meet the expectations of the learned, it answers the more important purpose of placing the means of knowledge in every man's hands. In order to do this effectually, it must have a wider circulation than its present form will allow ; it ought by all means to be reprinted in a cheap edition, and spread as widely as possible. If this were done, a new vigor would be given to agricultural enterprise. The husbandman, as soon as he knows the enemies he has to contend with, considers the battle as more than half won.

Dr. Harris was induced, by the nature of his instructions, to consider the subject chiefly in reference to vegetation, and the enemies by which cultivators are harassed ; which certainly offers a field sufficiently large for any single observer, and one requiring time far more extended than that which this commission allowed. It has been said, that there are on an average six different enemies to every plant. This is probably only another way of stating that each plant has many destroyers ; but, when the number of species in the State is between four and five thousand, and all must get a living by some means or other, it is clear that no plant worth taking has much chance of escape ; and the insects very naturally

infer, that what is best for man must be best for insect too. The thought of such an army, all engaged in foraging upon man's dominions, is enough to fill the cultivator with dismay; and many, finding the havoc made among their fruits and flowers by these innumerable agents, have left the field in despair. But, properly regarded, it appears to be one of those evils which are necessary to bring out the energies, to quicken the attention, and to call into action those higher faculties which make the human animal a man. Doubtless it would be pleasanter to the housewife, to be exempt from the visitation of those spectres which make night hideous, and to live where no moth might corrupt food and raiment; the agriculturist, too, would be greatly delighted, if all his minute persecutors, like those which once infested Egypt, could be swept off wholesale to the Red Sea. But the question is not what they would like best, but what would be best for them; and, thus considered, it is evident that these, like all other physical inconveniences, are blessings in fantastic disguises, and could not be removed without opening the way for evils more evil than themselves. This very Report is an illustration of the good which may come from being thus afflicted. Here are great intelligence, observation sharp as a needle, and unflinching patience, devoted to the investigation of the subject. The naturalist takes hold of it with his grappling irons, and will not let it go, till he has traced the insect through all its changes in its underground caverns, enabling us to distinguish foes from friends, and showing us where, in case we proceed against them, our efforts can be best applied. But this is not all; for out of this field, apparently so unpromising, he has drawn rich and beautiful illustrations of wisdom and goodness, which force from us the acknowledgment, that, little as we love them, "the hand that made them is divine."

We do wrong, however, to speak always, as if all the insect race were at war with man. Nor indeed can it be truly said of any. The worst they can be charged with, is, pursuing their own interest without regard to ours; and, if this be a sin, they can plead various human examples in mitigation of damages; and they may reasonably demand of us to show, why that same course of conduct should be worthy of death in a bug, which is so much praised and honored in man. As we become better acquainted with them, we inva-

riably find that their injuries are less, and their services greater, than we had supposed. Sometimes the injury itself, as it seems, results in good, long after the insect is hunted down. From our past experience we may infer, that their reputation will continue to rise, since the harm they do is obvious, but the good is more slowly developed, and, therefore, later discovered. We already know that in the first order, of *Coleoptera*, the tiger, the ground, and the diving beetles, and the well-known lady-birds, who, though so often warned of the danger of their house and family, persevere in their labors in the orchard, are very efficient coadjutors with birds in removing the destroyers of trees. Many others, of unsavory name and habits, work as scavengers, in removing filth which would otherwise pollute the air. There are others, which fasten themselves on corrupt vegetable matter, and help forward that process of decay, which converts the dead plants into nourishment for the living. Surely, tried by this standard, insects are far from deserving to be trodden down; and if the day ever comes when usefulness shall be the title to respect, many a poor bug will rise into glorious eminence by the side of many men who have been honored and admired by the world.

In the first order, *Coleoptera*, or insects with sheathed wings, are some which are very injurious to vegetation, both when they have taken to themselves wings, and also in the earlier stages of their existence; particularly those called *Melolontha*, because they were oddly enough supposed to proceed from the flowers of apple trees, as the name implies. We have nothing which compares with the European cock-chafer in numbers, nor in the extent of its depredations. But our May beetle is sufficiently troublesome in devouring leaves, to make it necessary to proceed against it; which can be most effectually done, as Dr. Harris suggests, by shaking the trees in the morning, when they do not attempt to fly, and collecting the insects from the ground. The grub is a great destroyer of the roots of grass; but it is kept down by crows and barn-door fowls, not to mention the skunk, whose merits are now so little acknowledged, but who will doubtless be in better odor, when this important fact in his history in generally known.

The most destructive of these insects is the rose-chafer, or rose-bug, as it is generally called, which has for many

years been increasing in numbers, and bids fair to multiply to an indefinite extent, since nothing short of crushing can destroy its tenacious hold on life. When it was first noticed, it was very mysterious in its visitations. Vines were found covered with it, where there was not one the day before. At first it confined its attentions to roses, when they could be had; but now grape vines, fruit trees, forest trees, and vegetables of the garden, are covered by these pests, which cling to them in silent indifference to all that man can say or do. It is now found, that this is one of the cases, in which troubles come from the ground. The opening of the damask rose is the signal for its rising; all that are ready to take wing come forth, rejoicing in the privilege of doing more mischief above ground than they have been able to do below. All their transformations are completed in a year. In the month of July, the females enter the ground, lay their eggs, and then return to the upper air to die. The eggs of each are about thirty in number, and are deposited from one to four inches beneath the surface. They are hatched in twenty days, and the young grubs immediately begin to feed on the roots within their reach. In October, they descend below the reach of frost, and pass the winter in a torpid state. In the spring, they return to the surface, where each one fashions for itself a little oval cell, in which it completes its transformations. Since it is thus entirely beyond our reach in the earlier stages of its existence, there is no resort but to shake it from the trees, and gather it from the fruits and flowers. All the efforts of birds, devil's needles, and other friends of humanity, are wholly insufficient to keep their numbers down.

The family of weevils belong to the first order, and the name is sufficiently well known not to belong to a public benefactor. The most common with us, perhaps, is the pea weevil, though every eater of green peas is employed in reducing their numbers, and with a success which must be very gratifying to a benevolent heart. During the flowering season and immediately after, the insect pierces the tender pod, laying one egg in each seed, from which a small, light-colored grub proceeds without much delay. By the time the pea becomes dry, the weevil has reached its full size, and begins to bore its way from the centre to the hull, generally without injury either to the hull or the germ. By the spring it becomes a beetle, and gnaws a hole through the hull in order to

escape into the air. The weight of the pea is diminished about one half by this operation. If the pea is eaten whole when dry, the beetle is generally eaten with it; but though revenge may be sweet, the flavor of the pea-bug adds little to the amount of gratification. It is very considerate on the part of these vermin to spare the germ, so that a pea will grow when sown, even after it has been eaten almost to the shell; but this forbearance is probably exerted in favor of the children of pea-bugs, rather than of men.

One of the most pernicious of the weevils is that which takes its name from the white pine. This tree is the pride of the American forest, distinguished for its beauty of form, and very important in ship-building. Its value for masts depends very much on the straightness of the stem; and if the leading shoot be destroyed, the tree is deformed and rendered useless. Upon this shoot, the eggs of this nuisance are laid. The grubs produced from them bore into the wood in various directions, and, after doing all the mischief in their power, come out in September and October, leaving the shoot perforated in such a manner that it cannot recover. Happily a sort of ichneumon-fly finds his interests identical with those of man, and manages to put an end to the ravages of this destroyer, where human power could not reach him.

But the most troublesome of the weevils are those which officiate in our gardens. Every horticulturist knows to his sorrow, that his unripe apricots, plums, peaches, and cherries, fall in consequence of the doings of an insect, which stings the fruit as soon as it is formed, allotting one egg to each, and so proceeding with all upon the tree. This insect is the plum-weevil, and is the same which may be found in the black excrescence, that so often disfigures the plum tree, the branches of which, as Dr. Harris supposes, they resort to in default of fruit, should there be none upon the trees when they happen to rise out of the ground. His advice is, that, when the insects are seen in the beetle form, and are engaged in laying their eggs, the trees should be smartly shaken every morning and evening. The insects do not attempt to fly, but contract their wings and fall; they may thus be caught in sheets spread under the tree, and disposed of at pleasure. All the fruit which falls in consequence of their attacks, should be carefully gathered, and the diseased excrescences should be cut from the trees and burned, before the last of June.

But while the depredations on the orchard are the most vexatious, the injury done to forest trees is a more serious evil, since it is not so easy to point out the means by which it may be arrested. The painted Clytus has acquired an infamous notoriety from its destruction of the locust-tree, one of our most beautiful and valuable trees, both for timber and shade. The insect is gay in appearance, and, to see it glittering in its gold-laced suit of black velvet, no one would suspect its true character. It is a remarkably civil beetle, at least to those of its own race; since two hardly ever pass each other without a profusion of bows. But the female lays its eggs in the crevices of the bark, and, as soon as the grubs are hatched, they aim at the inner parts of the tree. The winter renders them torpid; but in the spring they mine into the wood, till the branch or stem is disfigured and perforated in such a manner, as to be easily broken by the wind. The consequence is, that the trees, when the insects prevail, become unfit for ornament or use; and, as no means have been thus far devised, which have the least effect to destroy or repel the enemy, the cultivation of the locust-tree must be abandoned. They cannot even be disposed of by giving up the tree for a time; for we see the insect feeding on the blossoms of the golden-rod, and, if deprived of one kind of food, they will easily supply themselves with another.

Unfortunately the sugar maple, another of our forest trees, has fallen under the destroying ravages of another Clytus, called *speciosus*, or the beautiful, a name to which, if its doings alone are regarded, it is but poorly entitled. Those who have cultivated this tree, have seen the progress of decay commence at the end of one of the limbs, and gradually extend, till the whole were dead; but, till the Reverend Mr. Leonard, of Dublin, New Hampshire, traced out the cause, it was very little known. This large insect, about an inch in length, lays its eggs on the trunk of the maple in July and August. The grubs, as soon as hatched, burrow in the bark, and are thus sheltered during the winter. In the spring they penetrate the wood, forming long, winding galleries up and down the stem. About midsummer, they are changed to beetles, and prepare a race to succeed them in their destructive labors, and to finish what their short-lived sires begun.

Among the beetles are found the *Cantharides*, which are more useful in medical practice than injurious in agriculture;

beside that the circumstance of their value to the sick operates to keep down their numbers. Four kinds of our native cantharides have already been used by physicians, and are found as powerful as those which are imported from the south of Europe. One is commonly called the *potato-fly*, an insect of a yellowish red color, with black stripes on the thorax and wing covers, whence it derives the name *striped Cantharis*, by which it is most properly known. It eats the leaves of potatoes and other vegetables, and becomes formidable from its numbers. Another is found on our beautiful wild clematis, the lower parts of which they strip of the leaves. The most destructive cantharis is called the ash-colored, and is found on the English bean, on the potato-vine, and also on hedges of the honey-locust, the beauty of which they entirely destroy. Another, of a jet black color, is found on the tall golden-rod, and also on potato-vines, though the former is their favorite food. These different kinds are collected and sold, without the difference between them being noticed. They can be taken by sweeping the plants which they frequent with a deep muslin bag-net, from which they may be thrown into boiling water for two or three minutes, and afterwards spread out on sheets of paper to dry. There are other blistering beetles of the genus *Meloe*, sometimes called *oil-beetles*, the most common of which is a blue insect nearly an inch long, found in the autumn on butter-cups and potato-vines, and called the *narrow-necked oil-beetle*.

The second order, *Orthoptera*, or straight-winged insects, contains the grasshoppers, and others which are injurious to vegetation, not by reason of their insidious attacks, so much as by their overwhelming numbers. Dr. Harris complains of the confusion occasioned by the misappropriation of names in this family. In America, the name of *locust* is given to the *harvest-fly* of English writers, or the *Cicada* of the ancients, while it ought to be restricted to certain kinds of grasshoppers. Our *earwig* is not the creature known by that name abroad, and laboring under the absurd reproach which its name implies. The little creeping thing abounding in legs, which we call earwig, is not even an insect, and the veritable earwigs which are found among us are too few to do any harm. The cockroach, one of our imported blessings, hardly comes within our author's sphere, since its labors are wholly domestic; he therefore passes by it, simply recommending

that a dose of red lead, Indian meal, and molasses, be served up to them, till they have eaten their fill. The cricket, which is commonly thought to be, like the former, an inmate in our mansions, only enters them by accident ; the field is the scene of his music and operations. The music is produced by grating his wing-cases upon each other, thus producing a discordant sound, which is made tolerable, and even pleasant to some, by means of poetical associations. Their labors are incessant, but not much noticed, because they do not confine themselves to a single plant, but eat almost any which are sufficiently tender. Among the crickets is a small white kind, which conceals itself by day among the leaves and stems of plants, and at night makes a wearisome and incessant noise with its wing-covers. When any one finds its way into a chamber, not even the innocent will find repose that night.

The race of grasshoppers is much the most numerous and important. Favored by their leaf-like form and color, they can easily escape observation, while they devour the foliage, and commit many depredations in a quiet way, which does not attract the attention of the public till they see the great amount of mischief which is done. These insects commit their eggs to the ground, encasing a number together in a sort of varnish, which serves to protect them from decay. These commonly remain in the ground till the next spring, when the young are ready to begin their labors upon the young vegetation as soon as it rises from the ground. Of this family the *Katy-did* is the most remarkable. It is well known for the noisy pertinacity with which it sings the syllables which form its name. The sound is so quarrelsome, and therefore so decidedly human, that it is difficult to persuade one's self there is neither anger nor voice concerned. It proceeds from a thin, transparent membrane, stretched over a portion of the wing-cover. The wing-covers are so very large, as to enclose the whole body of the insect like a pod ; and when these are opened and shut, the parts in question grate upon each other ; the sound, being reverberated by the membrane and the concave wings, becomes very loud and shrill, reaching to a great distance, and so exactly resembling a colloquy of scolding vixens, as to be intolerable to a lover of peace. Some seem to bring the charge with great zeal and bitterness, "Katy did, she did," while others with equal exasperation declare, "She did n't" ; and so the matter is debated, very

much after the fashion of a night session in Congress, with a monotonous repetition of the same empty assertions; and nothing can put an end to it but the morning beams.

Dr. Harris has given a description of the little green grasshopper, with a brown stripe on the head, which is found in our fields by millions, but has never before been honored with a name. Or rather there are two; one of which he calls *Orchelimum vulgare*, the common meadow-dancer; the other, from its form, the *gracile*, or slender meadow-grasshopper. They do not distinguish themselves by any shrill or troublesome noise, nor are they known to be very injurious to mankind; and these, according to man's usual award in such cases, have lived till now unhonored and unsung.

The various insects included under the name of locust have long and narrow wing-covers, which meet and form a ridge over the back, resembling a roof. The males are not provided with cymbals and tabors like the former; but instead of these, they have a cavity closed by a thin piece of skin stretched over it, which, like the body of a violin, helps to deepen the sound. When a locust performs, he bends the shank of one hind-leg beneath the thigh, where it is fitted in a furrow designed to receive it, and then draws it up and down the edge and veins of the wing-cover. He does not play both fiddles together, but alternately, first one, then the other. In this country, locusts are not distinguished from grasshoppers; but, beside the difference of their musical instruments, the locusts greatly exceed the latter in their power of flight. Their wing-covers being smaller, do not impair the efforts of their wings, and the wings themselves are moved by strong muscles, and are strongly put together. They do not compare in size and destructiveness with the locusts of Asia; but we hear at times of extensive ravages made by grasshoppers, which are really owing to locusts, and which show that they can be formidable from their numbers. President Dwight in his "Travels," gives an account of an irruption of the kind in Vermont, where they destroyed clover, Indian corn, and even the burdock and tobacco plant; so voracious were they, that if the garments of laborers were exposed, these insects devoured them. They are no other than the little red-legged locusts, which are found on salt-marshes, where they sometimes consume the grass, and, as they die upon the spot, so taint with their decaying bodies

what little they have left, that it is rejected by horses and cattle.

The order *Hemiptera*, or half-winged, includes the formidable race of bugs, ninety-five species of which are enumerated elsewhere by Dr. Harris, as belonging to Massachusetts. Some, particularly those domestic animals which are called bugs *par excellence*, are already too well known to need a minute description. Of the out-of-door kinds, the squash-bug is one of the most notorious. De Geer, who first described it, gave it the name *tristis*, or sad, which would seem to belong more fitly to those who suffer from its visitations. On the return of warm weather, they return from the crevices in which they have passed the winter, and, as soon as the vines have put forth a few rough leaves, they are to be found on the vines, or beneath them, taking no pains to escape, and trusting for security to the acknowledged property, that they are less offensive to the senses while living than when dead. Their eggs are glued to the leaves, where the young are hatched, and, as soon as they come to life, begin to exhaust the leaves of their juices ; as soon as they have drained these, they pass to others, which they destroy in the same way. By taking some care to destroy the eggs and the young, which may easily be done, the insects may be almost exterminated ; but, if this precaution be neglected, the injuries of the insects and the dry weather of summer will destroy the labor of the year.

We observe that Dr. Harris believes in the periodical return of the *seventeen-year locusts*, as they are called, though locusts they are none. They are of the group *Cicada*, and are distinguished by their broad heads, large projecting eyes, and most of all by their loud buzzing noise, which is produced by a pair of kettledrums, with which the creature is provided, and which it uses with little discretion. These are formed by convex pieces of parchment, finely plaited, and placed in cavities behind the thorax, where they contract and relax with great rapidity, and produce the sound in question, which can be heard a mile. These insects are first referred to in Morton's " Memorial," as " a numerous company of flies, which, for bigness, were like unto wasps or bumblebees, which appeared in Plymouth in 1633. They came out of little holes in the ground, and did eat up the green things, and kept up such a constant yelling as made

the woods ring of them." It is not clear that they observe the exact interval of seventeen years between the times of their coming. The grub must remain in the earth all the mean while, and perhaps circumstances induce some generations to take wing earlier than others ; but it seems to be established that they are, on the whole, entitled to their name. They have no resemblance to locusts in their destructive propensities, which is owing not to any uncommon forbearance on their part, but to the structure of their mouths, which renders it impossible. But they often break the branches of trees with their weight, and the female also inserts her eggs in the boughs, which soon wither and die. When the young are hatched, they let themselves fall to the ground, going to the lower part of the branch, and taking this leap of Leucate with the utmost coolness and deliberation. When they reach the soil, they immediately burrow into it, and remain there through all the years of their pilgrimage to the last, when they ascend to the surface, where they remain, exposing themselves to the air occasionally till the time of their transformation is come. When the hour arrives, they come forth by night in great numbers, and crawl up trees, or any thing to which they can attach themselves by their claws ; they then by repeated efforts make a rent in their outer integument, through which they push out the head and body, leaving the shell looking like a perfect insect on the tree. A few hours are sufficient to give them strength to fly ; within a fortnight they lay their eggs ; and in less than six weeks the whole generation has passed away. It is well that they remain in the ground so long ; it gives time to the trees to recover from the injury occasioned by their burden. In fact it would be no great subject of regret, if the earth to which they betake themselves in the early stages of their existence should become their grave.

The plant-lice, which belong to this order, are a singular generation, and the alliance which exists between some species and the ants has often attracted attention. It is not so generally known, that there are some which live in the ground, where they destroy plants by clustering round the roots, in the same manner as others drain the juices from the leaves. This is much more convenient for the ants, who are thus saved the trouble and exposure of climbing trees in search of them, and moreover can have them in their own

habitations below. They appear to be fully sensible of the advantage, and take a degree of care of the *aphides*, which, if disinterested, would be quite sublime. If they are disturbed, the ants are at once up in arms. They carefully take up the *aphides* and convey them to a place of security ; they defend them from the attacks of other insects, and make their cause in every respect their own. They show the same solicitude for the eggs, taking care to keep them moist, and in fine weather bringing them to the surface to give them the advantage of the sun. But this concern is sufficiently explained by the fact, that the ants depend on the sweet fluid drawn by the *aphides* from the trees, for food to supply themselves and their young.

The downy plant-lice are the cause of the affection of apple trees, which is called in Europe *American blight*, under the impression that it came originally from this country. It seems to be a maxim with every nation, that no plague begins at home ; and vast pains are taken to exclude by quarantine regulations, the enemy which has the birthright of a native, and therefore, very naturally, makes itself at home. It is not common in this country as it is abroad, and some have doubted whether it exists ; but Mr. Buel found it on his apple trees, and Dr. Harris says that he has seen it in a few instances, though it still appears to be rare. The eggs are so small as to be invisible without a microscope, and are enveloped in a substance like cotton, supplied by the insect itself. They are deposited near the ground in crotches of the branches, or crevices of the bark, where the young appear in the spring, like small specks of mould upon the trees. As the young grow, the down increases, and serves as a means of conveyance, being light and easily borne by the wind, and thus enabling the insects to pass from one tree to another. They derive their nourishment from the sap of the bark and the *alburnum*, and in such quantities, that the leaves become yellow and the branches decay, till the whole tree is infested and destroyed. This and other similar instances can be dealt with by a faithful application of alkaline solutions, put on after scraping and brushing the tree. In the case of the insects, the roots must be included in the cleansing process as low as it is possible to reach them. There are cases, however, in which man has diligent and faithful allies to assist him, particularly the lady-birds, very good little beetles,

which deserve the favor with which they are regarded, since, unlike most insects, they do us more service than harm. Mr. Kirby says, that he has succeeded, simply by placing a few grubs of the lady-bird among the *aphides*, in exterminating them from a currant bush and a small tree.

But while this difficulty is not so common as to be alarming, another insect, or kind of bark louse, has spread itself very fast over the orchards of New England, being so obscure in its form and color as to attract no attention till it has already injured the tree. The insect is about one tenth of an inch in length, of an oval shape, resembling half a kernel of rye, though not so large, and attached by the flat side to the bark. They proceed from a small, muscle-shaped scale, containing thirty or forty eggs, which are hatched about the beginning of June. The young become stationary in about ten days, and throw out a quantity of bluish-white down, soon after which their transformations are completed, and the females deposit eggs. These insects soon destroy the bark on which they are found, and, unless arrested, will shortly complete the ruin of the tree. Strong alkaline solutions must be applied to them, and the time most favorable for the purpose is the early part of June. The titmouse and wren are both very efficient aids of the horticulturist in this kind of labor, and, like most other birds, deserve an amount of credit and protection which mankind have neither good feeling nor good sense enough to give them.

The order *Lepidoptera* embraces the caterpillars, which, by reason of their variety and overwhelming numbers, are perhaps our most formidable enemies, not merely as destroyers of vegetation, for some, which are wholly domestic in their habits, contrive to do as much mischief within doors as their vagrant relations in the orchards and fields. They are the young of moths and butterflies. Of these Dr. Harris has formed acquaintance with about five hundred species, which are natives of Massachusetts, and there are, he thinks, at least as many which are not yet described. The greater part of them subsist on vegetable food, some feeding on solid wood, some on pith, grains, and seeds, and many on leaves and flowers. As each female provides from two to five hundred eggs, a thousand of these insects will afford three hundred thousand, at least, to the first generation. If half these arrive at maturity, it will give forty-five millions to the

second, and nearly seven thousand millions in the third generation. This estimate is doubtless within the truth, and it serves to show in a striking manner what an amount of effort is required to contend with them, and how formidable, if neglected, a small evil may become.

In the family of *Sphinx* is a group called *Ægeria*, which contains some desperate enemies of man. One was well named by Mr. Jay, *exitiosa*, or the destructive, from its operations on the peach tree. Happily its movements are sufficiently obvious to the eye; and, if proper care is given, the trees may be preserved. The insect is a slender, dark-blue, four-winged moth, having a slight resemblance to a wasp, and expanding, we mean the female, which is of course the most important character of the two, about an inch and a half. Her eggs are generally deposited in the month of July, sometimes much later, and are placed as near as possible to the surface of the ground. The grubs, as soon as hatched, begin upon the inner bark and sapwood, where they often girdle and completely destroy the tree. Any thing which compels them to lay their eggs higher on the stem, will make it impossible for them to eat their way to the root, where they calculate to pass the winter; and, if the cold overtakes them above ground, it is fatal to them.

Of all caterpillars, the best known are those of the *Lasiocampian* race. They are the young of such moths, as fly only by night. Those to which we allude are seen in great numbers in our orchards, and particularly in the wild-cherry trees on their borders. The eggs are placed round the ends of the branches in a ring containing several hundred, covered and cemented together with a water-proof varnish, which protects them from the weather. When the leaves expand in the spring, the caterpillars are ready to begin their operations. The first is to form an angular web, resembling that of a spider, stretched on the forks of branches near the eggs. Under this tent, the caterpillars find shelter when they are not engaged in eating. In crawling from one branch or leaf to another, they spin a slender silken thread, which serves as a clue to conduct them back to their tent; and, as this process is often repeated, their pathways become paved with silk, and thus afford them a safe and easy road. As they increase in size, their tent enlarges, till it acquires a diameter of eight or ten inches. In the early part of June, they begin to leave

the trees where they have lived in company, and after wandering a while secure themselves in some crevice, where they go through their transformations. Every nest in an orchard, if neglected, supplies tens of thousands in future years ; and such neglect deserves such retribution when so little care is required to remove them.

In the genus *Attacus*, are some, which may hereafter supply the place of the silkworm, having the advantage of being more hardy, and contented with such food as our forests can supply. Experiments, on a small scale, have been made with the silk of the *Cecropia*, which has been carded, spun, and woven into stockings, which are said to wash like linen. The *Cecropia*, however, does not bear confinement so well as the *Luna* and *Polyphemus*, which are easily reared, and make their cocoons as well in the house as in the open air. Dr. Harris observes, that, as the insects remain in the chrysalis state from September to June, they may be kept for unwinding at any leisure time in the winter.

Dr. Harris has given much attention to the *cutworm*, as it is called, from its appearance, which is so injurious to the young vegetation of our gardens ; and the result shows that the name comprehends a variety of insects, which, though resembling each other in the caterpillar state are quite different when on the wing. He procured a considerable number, all alike in color, though not in size. He did not particularly examine their markings, but, before the middle of August, five different kinds of moth made their appearance out of the chrysalids which they formed. That which is believed to come from the cutworm, is a moth which flies about our candles in great numbers in the latter part of the summer. He applies to it the name of *Agrotis devastator*. He thinks that they are hatched in the autumn, and, after remaining below the reach of frost in the winter, come to the surface and prepare for their unwelcome labors in the spring. The most effectual way to put a stop to their depredations is, to search out the destroyer and put him to death ; but, when such vegetables as the tomato are transplanted, they may be secured in their tender state by winding a bit of paper round the stem.

No one can have failed to observe the ravages of the detestable cankerworm, which is now extending itself over New England, destroying the beauty of vegetation in the leafy

month of June, and requiring so much pains to resist it, that many cultivators seem to submit to it in helpless despair. It was formerly supposed that the moths came out of the ground only in spring; it is now known that they rise also in the autumn, and the early part of winter; and, whatever application is made to prevent their ascending the tree, is necessary at those times as well as in the spring. The eggs are usually hatched at the time when the red currant is in blossom, and the caterpillars are employed upon the leaves for a month; after that, they begin to let themselves down by silken threads to the ground, where they burrow and go through their transformations. It is hoped that the extent and magnitude of this evil will lead to more easy and effectual remedies than have yet been discovered. Certainly such an exact history as Dr. Harris has given of the changes and periods of the insect is indispensable to those who would devise means to prevent its depredations.

Another serious disturber of the peace of horticulturists is the apple worm, well known for its practice of forestalling the best part of the fruit in our orchards. The moth, which is often seen in houses, is distinguished from others by an oval spot of brown, edged with copper color, on the hinder margin of each of the fore wings. In July and the last of June, they fly about apple trees in the evening, in order to place their eggs in the hollow at the blossom end of the fruit. The eggs begin to hatch in a few days, and the young grub immediately makes for the heart of the apple. At first it is very small, and its presence is hardly perceptible; but in three weeks it becomes large, and opens a tunnel through the side of the fruit, in order to get rid of the rubbish which gathers round it, and interferes with its motions. When the apple falls, an event which is hastened by its operations within, it makes use of this tunnel in order to escape into the sheltered places, where it goes through its transformation. Sometimes it reappears without delay; but generally remains in the chrysalis state through the winter and the following spring. As they generally find shelter in the crevices of the bark, many will be destroyed by scraping it early in the season. It is also said, that, if an old cloth is wound about the tree, great numbers will resort to its folds, where they can be destroyed without much trouble.

The name *Moth* was formerly restricted to those familiar

inmates of our dwellings, which depend on man for food and raiment, that is, converting our clothing into food and lodging for themselves. Among these, the clothes moth, the carpet moth, the fur moth, and the hair moth, stand preëminent. They lay their eggs in May and June, and die when they have provided for the succession of their race. The eggs are hatched in about a fortnight, and the little grubs forthwith proceed to gnaw the substance on which they rest, making of the fragments a case for themselves, which they line with silk, enlarging it according to their growth, by lengthening it at the two ends, and setting in gores at the sides. This case is their house for the summer ; they carry it with them as they move along their destructive way. In the autumn they cease to eat, and, fastening their cases to the cloth, they remain quiet during the winter ; but in the next spring they change to chrysalids within their cases, and after twenty days reappear with wings. When prepared to lay their eggs they slip through cracks into closets, chests, and drawers, under the edges of carpets and the folds of curtains, showing a particular affection for woollen garments, and there lay the foundations of new tribes of similar destroyers.

As the readers of our journal, however worthy and enlightened, are not exempt from the usual doom, it may be well to direct their attention to the precautions which Dr. Harris recommends. Early in June it will be advisable to beat up their quarters, throwing open wardrobes, closets, chests, and drawers, and exposing garments, bedding, carpets, curtains, fur, and feathers, to the heat of the sun, since the moths are great lovers of darkness, like all other creatures whose deeds are evil. But other remedies must be vigorously applied, such as shaking, beating, and brushing, which will dislodge and destroy the eggs. In old houses, cracks in the floors and wainscots, and around the walls and shelves of closets, should be brushed with spirits of turpentine. Sheets of paper sprinkled with it, camphor in coarse powder, and leaves of tobacco, should be placed among the clothes when they are laid aside for the summer. Such articles as furs and plumes should be pasted up in bags of coarse paper, with leaves of tobacco interposed. Dr. Harris also says, that linings of carriages may be effectually guarded by sponging them on both sides with a solution of corrosive sublimate of mercury, made just strong enough not to leave a black stain on a white feather. Moths

can be killed by fumigating the article that contains them with tobacco smoke or sulphur, by enclosing them in a tight vessel, and plunging it in boiling water; or by putting it into an oven heated to one hundred and fifty degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer.

The bee-moth is another of these nuisances, sufficiently well known to those who have undertaken to supply themselves with honey. It had the honor or the infamy, whichever it may be, of being commemorated by Virgil in ancient times, and has often, in later ages, received benedictions from the husbandman, less poetical, perhaps, but equally significant. This pest was brought from Europe with the common hive-bees, — the old straw hive, which was formerly common there, affording it an excellent shelter. The male and female moth differ so much in size, that Linnæus and other naturalists supposed them to be distinct species, and gave them two different names. The female is much larger and darker colored than the male. There are two broods in the course of the year. Some of the first appear in their winged uniform at the last of April, or early in May; those of the second abound most in the month of August; but they are found in less numbers through the whole of the summer, and require the proprietor to be always on his guard. By day they remain quiet in the crevices, or on the sides, of the bee-house; but in the evening, when the bees have entered, they hover round the hive, and take the opportunity to steal in at the door and lay their eggs. Those which cannot get in, lay their eggs on the outside, or on the stand; and the little caterpillars either creep in at the cracks, or make a passage under the edges. Were the bees to discover them, the air of the hive would not be good for their constitutions; but they show wonderful consciousness and skill in stealing through the waxen passages, which they break down and destroy. They are sometimes called the wax-moth, and this is more descriptive than the common name, because wax is their only food. They prefer the old to the new comb, and are therefore most abundant always in the upper part of the hive, in the oldest of the comb. Very vigorous powers of digestion must they have to thrive upon such food; but they eat it with as much appetite as if it were the greatest luxury that ever was concocted. As soon as they are hatched, they begin to spin; and each one makes for itself a strong tube of silk, in

which it can turn and move round at pleasure. In this it remains concealed during the day, and comes out at night when it cannot be seen by the bees. This case is enlarged as the grub increases in size, and for greater security is covered with grains of wax and rubbish, to protect the enclosed animal from the sting. Thus shielded, they move through the hive, consuming the wax, and filling the vacancy with their filthy webs, till at last the patience of the bees is worn out, and they desert the abodes where their skill and industry are applied in vain.

Bees suffer most from the moth in warm and dry summers. Weak swarms are more infested than large ones. The presence of the grubs is made known by the black grains and fragments of wax scattered over the floor. As soon as this appearance is discovered, the caterpillars and chrysalids must be sought out, and all the webs and cocoons, with the insects in them, must be carefully removed. This would better be done once a week ; but at any rate should be done early in September, when the cocoons are most abundant. The winged moths may be destroyed by setting shallow vessels, containing a mixture of honey or sugar with vinegar and water, near the hives in the evening ; great numbers will get into it and be destroyed. Hives of various construction are offered to the public as a security against the wax moth ; but which is most efficient, we have not as yet had an opportunity to determine.

Dr. Harris inclines to the belief that the European grain moth, *tinea granella*, is found in this country, but not generally observed, because confounded with the grain weevil. There is also another grain moth, which is very destructive in some parts of France, called the *Angoumois moth*, which he apprehends is the same with one which was described by Colonel Carter of Virginia as " the fly weevil, that destroys wheat." He has seen some wheat from New Haven, eaten by moths in the same manner as the Angoumois moth is said to consume it ; that is, a single grub lies concealed within a grain of the wheat, and thus devours in secret the mealy substance within the hull. Whatever the insect may be, it is ascertained that it can be destroyed by exposing the grain to a heat of one hundred and sixty-seven degrees of Fahrenheit, continued for twelve hours. A less degree of heat will answer, if applied for a longer time.

The order *Hymenoptera*, or membranaceous-winged, contains some insects of good reputation, such as ants and bees, and not many which are very injurious in the field or garden; but they are well worth regarding on account of the wonderful instincts displayed in fulfilling the purposes of their existence. Nor are we required to go far to see the manifestations of their skill. The mud-wasp fastens its cells to the eaves of our houses, each containing a single egg, with some living spiders, kept in durance vile to furnish fresh meat for the young. The honey-bee enters the mansions provided for it, and there shapes its comb with inimitable precision, though it has no other mathematical instrument than its antennæ and its mouth. The ant labors everywhere in its mines, with an industry and enterprise which put to shame the tunnels and excavations of man.

The saw flies belonging to this order are so called from the tools with which the female is provided. They are double saws, lodged in a chink at the lower part of the body, like the blade of a knife in its handle. They are placed side by side, with their ends directed backwards, and so hinged to the under part of the body, that they can be drawn from the chink and moved up and down when used. They generally curve upward, and taper toward the end, and are toothed along the lower or convex edges. Each, like a carpenter's fine saw, has a back to steady it; it is not fastened to the back, but slides backward and forward upon it. The blade is not only toothed on the edge, but has transverse rows of very fine teeth on one side, giving it the power of a file as well as a saw. With these instruments the females saw little slits in the stems and leaves of plants, and in these deposit their eggs.

One of the largest of the saw flies infests the American elm, laying its eggs upon the tree in June, that the young may feed upon its leaves. Another commits depredations on the pine and fir tree. To this Dr. Harris gives the name of *Lophyrus abietis*, the Lophyrus of the fir tree. The false caterpillars may be found upon the trees in June and July, so numerous and sociable, that sometimes two are found on the same leaf, feeding opposite to each other. When the time for transformation comes, they creep into crevices, or conceal themselves in the decayed leaves and rubbish at the foot of the tree, where some complete the process in August, and

others remain till the following spring. Another species preys upon the leaves of the grape-vine; and all require attention on the part of the cultivator to prevent their increasing in numbers. It is well known that the rose-bush is defiled and injured by an insect of this description. The best remedy is probably that of Mr. Haggerston, a mixture of two pounds of whale-oil soap with fifteen gallons of water. This has been found sufficient to destroy canker-worms, plant lice, and red spiders, and certainly deserves to be faithfully tried on all these troublesome enemies of the garden, which, if resisted, will flee, or, what is still better, will lose the power to flee and torment us again.

The most formidable of the saw flies is that which was described by Professor Peck, in his "Natural History of the Slug-worm." It lives on the cherry and the pear tree, eating away the upper surface of the leaves, and is sometimes so numerous that twenty or more collect on a single leaf. In the year 1797, they were so abundant that they perfumed the air. Their operations were unsavory as their smell. The tree which was laid waste, was compelled to put forth new leaves in the summer, and thus exhaust its vital energy, and forestall its preparation for another year. Happily they have enemies to limit their numbers; mice and birds feed upon them in various stages of their existence, and a small ichneumon-fly stings their eggs, and deposits in each so punctured an egg of its own. The maggot which proceeds from the latter feeds upon the larger egg in which it dwells, and of course prevents its coming to life. In this small way the ichneumon is ascertained to do great and praiseworthy execution.

Under the head of *Diptera*, or two-winged, are included races of insects with which most of our readers have an extensive personal acquaintance, and which are more familiar than welcome to those who know them. They divide the empire of day and night between them, the mosquitoes raging by night and the flies destroying our peace by day. It is some comfort to know that the number of these visitors we shall have, rests in part with ourselves, since they are born and cradled in filth, such as is found in the neighbourhood of barns. Heaps of manure are their foundling-hospitals; and if these are not supplied to them by public or private charity, their reign is less joyful and triumphant. In fact, in all our

relations with these troublesome creatures, it is well to remember, that many of the evils of which we complain, are only our own carelessness, want of neatness, and other domestic iniquities, visited in this winged form upon ourselves. The young insects are fleshy grubs, advantageously known by the name of maggots, which go through their transformations within themselves, their skin hardening to supply the place of a cocoon, from which, in due time, they force their way, and proceed rejoicing to cultivate an acquaintance with men.

The common house fly is sufficiently troublesome ; but we are told by Dr. Harris that they may be destroyed by a strong infusion of green tea, well sweetened, and that they may be excluded from apartments by a netting with threads half an inch or more apart, stretched over the windows on one side of the room. It appears that they will not attempt to fly between meshes or threads into a room, unless they see light shining through from other windows ; information which may be valuable to those, who live in the neighbourhood of fly nurseries, which they cannot escape or control. The common house-flies are simply annoying by their pertinacity and their numbers ; but, toward the close of summer, the stable-flies, which resemble them in every thing but their sharp proboscis, enter our dwellings at the approach of rain, and bite us through our stockings with a sting equal to that of the bee or hornet, save that it leaves no poison behind. If any one is curious to examine this pest, he may know it by its proboscis, long and slender, and projecting horizontally before its head. It is honored with the name of *Stomoxys calcitrans*, that is, *sharp-mouthed kicking*, — the one describing the cause, the other the effect. Animals are so tormented by their incessant persecution, that they become almost frantic under the visitation.

The meat fly is found through the summer about places where meat is kept, a large buzzing insect, not particularly pleasing to the smell. It is of a blue-black color, with a blue, broad, and hairy body. Its eggs are known by the name of *fly-blows*. They hatch in two or three hours, and the maggots proceeding from them get their growth in two or three days, after which they creep into some crevice, or the ground if they can reach it, and pass through the transformation which raises them to the dignity of flies in two or three days more. There is another smaller blue-green meat-fly, with

black legs, which takes carrion in the fields under its charge. They both officiate in useful services, their whole care being to remove animal decay as fast as possible, before it can waste its sweetness on the air.

Flower flies differ from the house fly in the smaller size of their winglets, and the mesh in the middle of their wings. They are also smaller, and their wings spread less when at rest. It is not to be supposed from their name, that they are very refined ; at least in all stages of their existence. In the larva state, they generally live in manure or decayed vegetable matter. Some of the tribe feed on radishes, others on turnips, and others on onions. The fly has been very destructive to this savory crop in Europe, and Dr. Harris has found a fly so exactly answering to the description of the transatlantic nuisance, that he thinks it no breach of charity to consider them as one.

Our largest gad-fly or horse-fly is a creature of formidable dimensions, nearly an inch in length, with wings expanding nearly two inches, its color black, and covered with a whiteish down, like a plum. Its eyes are very large, almost meeting on the top of the head. The *orange-belted*, as it is called from the color of the girdle that surrounds its black body, is smaller than this. But there are several others which have not been described, though notorious enough from their power to annoy. Their proboscis is armed with half a dozen sharp needles, which will penetrate the toughest skin, and horses are beset with them till they are sometimes driven to despair. It is said that a decoction of walnut leaves, applied to the animal, will prevent their attacks, and, as it certainly can do no harm, it is worth the trial.

The bee-flies, which are so called from their way of life, are not troublesome like the last mentioned. They get their living from early flowers, sucking out the honey with their proboscis, which is sometimes longer than the body of the fly. They also resemble the bee in appearance, having a short, rounded body, covered with yellowish hairs. They fly very fast, suddenly stopping every little while and remaining suspended in the air on their long horizontal wings.

The soldier-flies are not so fierce as their names would lead us to suppose. Their proboscis is not fitted for offensive war on other insects, but only for sucking the sweet juice of flowers. There are, however, cannibals among the flies,

the chief of which is the orange-banded Midas, which is sometimes found an inch and a quarter in length with a proportionate extent of wings. Its color is black, with the orange band which gives it a name upon the hinder body. The name *Midas* comes from its long antennæ, which are thought to resemble the decorations of the head of its namesake in ancient times. The early stages of its existence are spent in decayed logs and stumps in the woods.

Among the two-winged insects are some which would be rather surprised to find themselves in such worshipful company, since, so far from having two wings, they are not even equipped with one. Among these is the snow-gnat, which, in its appearance, resembles a spider. There is a poiser on each side of the body, to supply the place, or, at least, to give the appearance of wings. Their home is on the ground, and the female, which is provided with a borer like that of a grasshopper, bores into it to lay its eggs.

Many gnats, however, are furnished with wings, as most of us, to our sorrow, have reason to know. In some parts of New England and Canada, is a kind of midge, which peoples the air in swarms in the month of June, and which is sufficiently formidable to the feeling, though so minute to the eye that the Indians in Maine give it the name of *No-see-'em*. They would not be seen, were it not for their wings, which are of a light color, mottled with black. Toward evening they come out, and, creeping under the clothes, produce an intolerable irritation by their bite, though they draw no blood. On the mosquitoes it is needless to enlarge ; our readers are so generally acquainted with them and their operations, that not even Dr. Harris would be able to add much to their light and satisfaction on the subject, without pointing some way to destroy them. Surely, one would suppose, that, in this day of creature comforts, some such means would be found. Now this little insect keeps half mankind in bodily fear. Wherever he winds his tiny horn, they prepare to suffer without resistance. Such universal submission to such an insignificant enemy, as if the evil were beyond redress, is strange enough, and, we trust, will not always be.

We cannot, however, pursue this subject further. Nor is it necessary ; for those who are interested in entomology, either as students or cultivators, will doubtless soon make themselves acquainted with the contents of this Report ; not by means of

the present publication, if we may call it so ; for this is not published, in the usual sense of the term, but only furnished to a number which must be small in comparison with the number of those who would wish to read it. But we are happy to hear that the Reporter has made arrangements with the proper authorities, by which he is allowed to print a small edition at his own expense. In this way, he may be able to supply the public demand, and also, we hope, to secure himself some additional compensation for his labors. It is the labor of a life, in which he is engaged. If he pursues his way with the same zeal and energy as heretofore, every succeeding year must add greatly to his stock of information, and, at some future time, we shall look to him for an extended work on the insects of this country. The materials of the present Report would naturally make part of it. Such a publication would meet a want which is now universally felt ; and, even if he found no other adequate recompense, which we should not willingly believe, he will at least secure an enviable and permanent fame.

Of the execution of this work, after the opinion we have already expressed, it is hardly necessary to speak. The author writes in a manner which is always graceful in one familiar with his subject and warmly interested in it, not considering high literary finish so important as a direct, forcible, and clear expression of his meaning. This is the style appropriate to scientific descriptions. It is all the better for being unambitious ; if it is only scholarlike and manly, good taste can require nothing more. We enjoy, not only the material of this Report, but the manner in which it is presented ; and, if the author can find leisure to prepare an elementary work on his favorite science, we have no doubt that in style, as well as substance, it will be such as to make the study generally attractive, and thus to secure an increasing number of intelligent and active observers.

ART. IV. — 1. *A Discourse of Natural Theology, showing the Nature of the Evidence and the Advantages of the Study.* By HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, F. R. S. and Member of the National Institute of France. Fourth Edition. London: Charles Knight. 1835. 12mo. pp. 296.

2. *Paley's Natural Theology, with Illustrative Notes.* By HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, F. R. S. and Member of the National Institute of France, and SIR CHARLES BELL, K. G. H., F. R. S., L. & E. *To which are added Supplementary Dissertations.* By Sir CHARLES BELL. With numerous Wood-Cuts. London: Charles Knight. 1836. 2 vols. 12mo.

3. *Dissertations on Subjects of Science connected with Natural Theology; being the concluding Volumes of the New Edition of Paley's Work.* By HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, F. R. S. and Member of the National Institute of France. London: Charles Knight & Co. 1839. 2 vols. 12mo.

THIS is a pleasant sight for those who continue to respect the name and writings of Paley. His work on Natural Theology, which, in itself, fills but one volume of moderate size, is here swelled into five goodly tomes, by the aid of notes and introductory and supplementary matter. And the men who are content to fill this humble part, to glean in the footsteps of Paley, are two of England's most distinguished sons; — an eminent surgeon, and a statesman not more remarkable for great legal and political ability, than for various learning and an apt and versatile genius. Such are the persons, who are willing to act as commentators, to be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, in their literary capacity, to one who occupied, during his whole life, a rather humble position in the English church, all hope of advancement being cut off by no lightly founded suspicions of heterodoxy. But such a testimonial was fairly due to the character and influence of the works of Paley. We do not derogate from the reputation of Sir Charles Bell and Lord Brougham, nor undervalue the importance of their present undertaking, when we assert, that the fruit of all their labors is but dust in the balance, when compared with the original; and to their con-

nexion with it they are indebted for a great part of the interest and favor wherewith their publication has been received.

There are those, who, filled with the spirit of an age fond of exaggerating the merits and successes of its own sons, while it regards the lights of a former generation with a supercilious and hypercritical air, can see nothing but the marked defects of Paley's mind and writings, and are wholly unable to account for his extraordinary influence and popularity. That many acute and philosophical treatises on the same subject, replete with the learning and science of the present day, are already becoming the property of spiders and trunk-makers, while a writer who had no genius for metaphysics, and who committed blunders in speculation which tyros can laugh at now-a-days, is universally read and admired, is for such critics a puzzling and mortifying fact. There is no physic that can purge away self-conceit, and no logic that can disarm or silence prejudice. We might else hope, that a fair consideration of the strong and weak points of this author, would clear up some difficulties in this problem, and assist such individuals in reconciling their theory with the facts in the case. But though it may not shake preconceived opinions, or put an end to cavilling, it may serve to place in a clearer light the questions in dispute, and supply some hints for a general solution of them. An attempt to define with accuracy the characteristics of a writer, and the nature and scope of the argument which he employed, may remove some prevailing misapprehensions respecting both.

The three principal works of Paley, his "Moral Philosophy," "Evidences of Christianity," and "Natural Theology," appear to be animated with nearly the same purpose, and executed on a very similar plan. The aim is entirely a practical one, the writer desiring to produce a particular effect upon his readers, and keeping this end in view throughout with a remarkable unity, both of design and performance. And a great part of the effect which his works produce is probably due to the clear manifestation of this simplicity of purpose. The reader perceives at once, that the author is honest; is not playing with him; is not thinking of his own appearance or reputation; is not desirous of displaying his stores of learning and science, or of exciting admiration by his eloquence, the subtilties of his reasoning, or the originality of his views. He goes straight forward to his object,

to convince his readers of some great truth, or to persuade them to a certain course of conduct. There is none of the sensitiveness of an author about him ; — none of that petty feeling, which is nervously alive to a charge of plagiarism, but seeks every opportunity to pilfer without being detected ; which will set forward a poor or weak argument in preference to a better one, because the former is all his own, while some one has used the latter before him. All was manliness and fair-dealing on the part of Paley. His inquiry respecting an argument or a remark was not, whether it was new, or bore the appearance of ingenuity, or opened a field for eloquent amplification ; — but whether it was *effective ;* whether it advanced his main, his single purpose. He took his materials wherever he could find them, no source being too suspicious, or too low, or too common, provided that it afforded matter, which furthered his ends. Consequently, there are few works which appear, at first sight, to contain so little that is new, while there are none wherein the subject is treated with such real originality. It is an old remark, that his "Evidences of Christianity" are a mere compilation from Lardner, and that his "Natural Theology" is founded upon the works of Ray and Derham. In one sense this is true, for he made very liberal use of these writers. In another, it is false, for the great merits of his works can be traced to no predecessor, and he imitated no one. The borrower, the imitator, is detected and disgraced, for he can never surpass one whom he follows, and the original must at last assert its own superior worth. But Paley has wholly supplanted the very authors to whom he is most indebted. His books have pushed Lardner, and Ray, and Derham off the shelves, or consigned them to those persons, who hope to glean a little more in the field which he worked to such marvellous advantage.

It may seem strange to put forward *honesty* as one of the great merits of Paley, and the main source of his popularity and influence. But the truth is, that this quality is far more rare among the writers on such subjects, than is commonly imagined. Men have published works on natural theology, not to prove the existence of a God, but to show their own metaphysical acumen ; nay, sometimes they have written them only to *disprove* the common notions on the subject, and to manufacture a deity suited to their own purposes, and consonant with their philosophical system. They have filled

huge tomes with the evidences of Christianity, which should have been lettered on the backs, "Proofs of the Author's Erudition." This same quality of perfect honesty, this forgetfulness of self, and entire devotion to the avowed object, whether it be the pursuit of truth, or the inculcation of virtue, can be attributed to but very few of the great writers and thinkers of any age. It manifests itself in simplicity and raciness of style, and earnestness of manner, which produce their effect not merely on a few individuals or on a particular class, but work equally upon the minds of all persons, and exert an influence, that, in breadth and depth, appears wholly disproportionate to the means employed. An indefinable charm runs through books composed in this spirit, which enlists a vast majority of minds in their favor, in spite of the faults, numerous and glaring though they be, which keen-eyed criticism detects, and malevolent or envious feelings expose. And the attraction continues, moreover, for an indefinite period; for, not being dependent merely upon novelty, it does not disappear with the first gloss.

Paley's object, we have said, was a practical one. He was far less an inquirer after truth, than a teacher of virtue. His works were not written for the discovery and diffusion of new truths, but for the establishment and inculcation of old ones. He wrote, not to satisfy or amuse the learned and critical few, but to guide and instruct the many; and the effect, which he aimed to produce, must be estimated quite as much by the quantity, as the quality. In this distinction, we apprehend, may be found a key to his most marked excellences and defects. Hence, that unrivalled clearness of statement, that terseness of language, that abundance of forcible but homely illustration, that close and orderly array of argument, and those brief, but nervous touches of eloquence, with which the whole composition is seasoned. To the same cause may be traced his principal faults; — his abandonment of the more abstruse parts of the subject, his deficiency in subtile reasoning, his dislike of metaphysical abstractions, his want of ideality and enthusiasm, as shown by the adoption of a somewhat plain and coarse standard of virtue, and in opposing the allurements of vice by purely selfish considerations. It may be said, that, with such characteristics, his works are fitted only for popular use, and are unworthy of consideration in company with the learned and scientific treatises, to which

the world is indebted for the real advancement of truth. This remark would apply, undoubtedly, to writings conceived on the same plan, but executed with inferior ability. But the excellence of his productions has raised them out of the sphere for which they seem to be designed, and has subjected them to a species of criticism, which should be reserved for works of an entirely different character. We speak of the sphere for which they *seem* to be designed, for, notwithstanding their grave defects, they exert great influence upon all classes of readers, and Paley himself certainly aimed at something higher than writing a book merely for the uninstructed multitude. The attractions of his style, and the sort of argument that he employed, are so powerful toward conviction, that the mind of any reader is carried away by them perforce, in spite of the gaps and errors, which may be discovered on a critical examination, but which, after all, are only of secondary importance. The influence of his manner in this respect may be compared to that of a clear statement of facts by a plain speaker, which often destroys the effect of the highest flights of eloquence.

It has been frequently said, that his mind had little power of generalizing, and was wholly unfitted for metaphysical speculations. To this remark in its whole compass we do not assent, for there are not a few passages in his works, which betray no mean power of refined and accurate reasoning, of subtile analysis, and, at times, of forming the most comprehensive views. But these qualities are not predominant, and that for the most obvious reason, — they were not called into play by the execution of his design. Their frequent exercise would have marred his chief purpose, to produce a wide effect by adapting his work to the taste and comprehension of all. Still further; in reference to the book in which the absence of these qualities has been most complained of, his "Natural Theology," we must be permitted to maintain, without any disrespect for metaphysics, that Paley's course was not only the best adapted to his purpose, but that it is the only true and proper method; that, in the main body of the argument, the refinements and abstractions of the metaphysician are wholly out of place, are easily opposed by weapons of the same character and equal force, and can never lead to any satisfactory result. We say, in the main body of the argument, for there are branches of the

subject, that must be treated after the manner of Clarke, or not at all. Far the greater part of Paley's book is occupied with proving the existence and goodness of the Deity ; and, for establishing these points, we maintain that his mode of reasoning is the only correct and satisfactory one, that has ever been proposed. Of course, the argument is his only by adoption ; for it is substantially the same with that of Socrates and Cicero, of Bacon and Locke, and, as we verily believe, it has constituted the only substantial ground of belief in the mind of every well-informed theist, that ever lived. We propose to defend this position at some length, but we must now return for a moment to our immediate subject, the peculiarities of the mind and writings of Paley.

The practical and Socratic turn of the writer's mind, and his aversion to general speculations, appear most obviously in his book on Moral Philosophy, which, able as it is, is far more exceptionable in theory than either of his subsequent publications. It appears difficult to account for the fact, that one of such pure intentions and character could contrive a system of morals, that is so unsound in doctrine and pernicious in its results. We refer only to the definition of virtue, on which the work is based, for the subsequent portions of the volume, relating entirely to practical ethics, are nearly faultless in design and admirably executed. The definition consists of three clauses, in each of which a grave error is involved. "Virtue consists in doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness." It is enough to say, that benevolence is not the *whole* duty of man, that right is of inherent and necessary obligation, anterior to all command, and that a selfish regard to our future welfare, far from constituting the only proper motive, vitiates the whole act, and is destructive of the very essence of virtue. But the error of forming such a grossly erroneous definition is palliated, when we observe, that benevolence is among the most important and comprehensive of all our duties, and one which most needs to be stimulated ; that the divine command supplies the most imposing and efficient of all sanctions to the moral law ; and that looking to reward only in a future life is such a refined and pure regard for our own happiness, that it hardly deserves the name of selfishness. This account of virtue, therefore, though wholly erroneous in theory, may easily be mistaken for a

most useful one in practice. It is precisely such a one as a moralist would be likely to frame, who, careless about merely speculative truth, and indifferent to the praise of originating a complete and elaborate system of ethics, should make it his only aim to be practically useful to his fellow-beings, by alluring them in the most persuasive manner to the practice of virtue. We do not mean, that Paley actually saw the error of his own theory, and passed over it intentionally, because he believed a faulty definition would be more useful than a correct one. He had far too much reverence for truth, too firm a belief that whatever is erroneous or false is also least expedient, to stoop to such an unworthy course. But the whole cast of his disposition inclined to practical benevolence ; his whole ambition centred in the desire of doing good to his fellow-men. In his investigation of any subject, he was led by an imperceptible bias to that conclusion, which promised most effectually to subserve the interests of mankind. Those who are most loud in their denunciations of his base and selfish morality, would do well to imitate his philanthropy, while they avoid his faulty and mistaken speculations.

We have said, that he was deficient in enthusiasm. He possessed a shrewd and penetrating mind, that looked quite through the motives and dispositions of his fellow-men, and formed such nutriment for them, as he judged to be best suited to their present tastes and capacities. He framed no ideal standard ; he set up no lofty conception of virtue, imposing in its purity and grandeur, but chilling by its remoteness and difficulty of attainment. Hence, there was some danger lest he should compromise with principle, and admit rules of conduct, which in some cases might offend a nice and delicate sense of rectitude. But the purity of his taste in ethics, and his caution in limiting the application of his principles, preserved him from this error ; and the sternest moralist will find no cause for censure in his practical expositions of virtue. He was skilful in casuistry, and often framed nice distinctions, but the conclusion was invariably on the safe side. As a compend of practical morality, therefore, his work is invaluable. He is never vague in enunciating his rules, and never declamatory in enforcing them. His argument is inimitable in force and conciseness, and often rises without effort to the height of eloquence. The

language never admits of a doubt as to its meaning, and the terseness of expression, together with the homely but apposite illustrations, often produces the same pleasing surprise as refined wit. Though many may deem the comparison too honorable to Paley, we confess that his manner often reminds us of Socrates, as represented in the "Memorabilia," confuting the Sophists and teaching virtue about the streets. His shrewdness, good sense, and occasional humor, his pithy arguments and familiar style, his mode of vanquishing an opponent with his own weapons, his use of striking but homely figures, and the pure and elevated philosophy of his discourses, are all in the best manner of the Grecian sage.

Though he sometimes handles general principles with ease and correctness, his mind was not naturally a comprehensive one. He divided a subject into minute parts, and considered them in succession. In argument, he attached himself to the strong points of his subject, and flashed the light of a dark lantern upon them, while their branches and connexions with the surrounding parts were left in obscurity. His reasoning can seldom be confuted, but the opponent may sometimes get out of its range, by taking up the matter from a side which he had never contemplated. This defect, again, arose from the wish to adapt his work to common minds. He chose that aspect of a question, which most readily offers itself, and presented it with such force and clearness, that the inquirer remained satisfied with the demonstration, and felt no desire to pursue the subject further. Paley was cautious about overlaying the argument, or wearying the beholder with an attempt to stop every crevice in the walls, when the first glance showed that the fortress was impregnable. His work was deficient in scientific completeness, but it answered its end; it convinced the reader. There is no wordiness, nor mysticism, nor affectation of technical phrases in his writings. He never seeks to get out of a difficulty by raising a cloud of words, nor to escape from reasoning by running into declamation, nor to evade an argument in any matter whatever. There is a delightful simplicity and *bonhommie* in his clear and powerful way of stating an objection, which he then proceeds to demolish in the same plain and forcible manner. Frankness and candor breathe from every page of his writings, and one relishes these qualities the more under such circumstances, because they are not usually to be

found in controversial writings of the same class. Men have written in defence of morality and religion, as if the sacredness of the subject absolved them from all obligations to use courtesy and fairness towards an opponent, and justified all wiles and stratagems by which a victory might be obtained. Paley stooped to no such unworthy practices, and his fair-dealing is rewarded by the docility of the reader, who soon finds himself compelled to follow submissively the train of argument, and seldom closes the book without having conceived an affection for the author. Indeed, the whole character of the writer, in all its strong and honest features, is imprinted on the work ; Montaigne did not convey a livelier image of himself to his readers. Much of the indefinable charm, which invests his writings, must be attributed to this unconscious self-portraiture, though much is due also to the admirable qualities of his style. His chapter on "Reverencing the Deity," has always appeared to us one of the most masterly compositions in the English language. It will suffer little by comparison with Lord Bacon's noble essay on Atheism, which, like the chapter in Paley, consists of only three or four pages, but is lighted up by the most brilliant flashes of the writer's glowing imagination.

The great merit which belongs to Paley for his work on "Natural Theology" may be best seen by comparison. Look at the state of the science since his death. An English nobleman bequeaths a princely sum to be given to some person for writing a book on a branch of the same subject. By the advice of the Bishop of London, the legacy is divided, and given in equal portions to six individuals, among the most distinguished in their respective sciences of any in the country ; and in a few years the result comes forth in the shape of six or eight thick octavos, called the "Bridgewater Treatises." Their publication may be of some advantage to the other sciences, but, as a contribution to Natural Theology, they can hardly be said to possess any merit whatever. Dr. Buckland has written a very good treatise on Geology, and Dr. Roget a very admirable one on Physiology, but the theological comments in each might be omitted altogether without detriment. The reader perceives at once, that the argument in respect to the Deity is a mere secondary affair ; that it is interpolated in an ordinary scientific treatise, with which it has no proper connexion. The por-

tion of the general subject allotted to Dr. Chalmers was of such a nature, that he seemed compelled to confine himself to the theme assigned by the noble donor. Yet he has done his best to escape from the trammels, and frankly confesses some incongruity between the title and the subject matter of his volumes. He embraced the opportunity to expatiate upon the philosophy of mind ; and the result of his labors only proves, that Dr. Chalmers is a clumsy writer, a weak reasoner, and a metaphysician equally deficient in learning, originality, and discretion. It is an act of charity towards the writers to pass over some of the other treatises altogether. We have mentioned those only, which possess some claims to attention. In spite of the high expectations created by the benevolent purpose of the Earl of Bridgewater, and the great efforts that were made to carry his wishes into effect, it seems that the loss of Paley's small volume would still be irreparable.

Lord Brougham and Sir Charles Bell, in the volumes now before us, have limited their ambition to preparing a new edition of Paley's work, with copious notes and supplementary dissertations. They considered rightly, that their own lucubrations stood a better chance of being noticed and studied, if published in such a connexion, than if they appeared in an independent form. The desire of illustrating the original, we consider as a mere pretence. Paley's command of language and illustration renders all aid unnecessary, even for the most shallow capacity. He who runs may read and understand. Even the anatomical portions of the work do not require the aid of engravings in order to be fully understood. A description couched in the simplest and most graphic terms, and a homely comparison,—the latch or hinge of a door, the teeth of a saw, or the packing of a box,—make the whole structure in question as plain as day. That Paley was not a surgeon by profession only renders his explanations the more intelligible to ordinary minds. There was less danger of sliding unawares into the use of technical terms, or of presuming too much on the reader's stock of previous knowledge. Though Sir Charles Bell writes with a fair share of ease and perspicuity, it will generally be found, when he adds a note for the mere purpose of elucidating the text, that the explanation is less clear than the original. He supplies a few other instances of adaptation from

the structure of the human frame, but adds nothing to the argument, and his labors, on the whole, rather encumber the work.

Lord Brougham's "Preliminary Discourse" has already been noticed at length in our pages,* and we have nothing to add to that estimate of its merits and defects. The noble writer at least confines himself to the subject, whatever may be thought of the ability with which it is treated. But we cannot say as much of the "Dissertations," two thick volumes of which are appended to this edition. They contain a parade of various, though not very profound learning, on a number of subjects, some of them bearing about the same relation to Natural Theology that they do to the study of Sanscrit, or the science of ship-building. Thus, about half of the second volume is occupied with an analysis of Newton's "Principia," which might with equal propriety have been printed in connexion with his Lordship's translation of Demosthenes "concerning the Crown." It answers no purpose except to display the writer's acquaintance with mathematics. An account of Cuvier's work on Fossil Osteology is not out of place to the same degree, though all the relations of the subject to Natural Theology might be stated in five pages, as well as in a hundred and twenty. We can hardly hope much from any attempt to throw light upon the deep and dark problem of the origin of evil, and Lord Brougham is certainly the last person, from whom aid in such a case could reasonably be expected. His long dissertation upon the subject contains nothing new, and will not increase the writer's reputation for learning, or skill in handling metaphysical questions. Four dialogues upon Instinct, and an account of the structure of the cells of bees, occupy a whole volume, but contribute very little, by way either of argument or illustration, to the reasoning of Paley. In fine, the supplementary Dissertations serve to display a versatile genius and much general information; but they show neither originality nor depth of thought, and are utterly valueless in the place they now occupy.

We are disappointed in this edition, for we had hoped that the concluding volumes would carry out some of the hints in the Preliminary Discourse, and, by a fair examination of

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLII., p. 467 *et seq.*

Paley's argument, either supply its alleged deficiencies, or remove the belief in their existence. The great questions agitated in that work have been much complicated of late by skeptical quibblings and metaphysical difficulties. The legitimacy of the whole reasoning has been called in doubt, and the points to be proved have been varied and distorted by the makers of philosophical systems. Some complaints might be done away, and much obscurity be dispelled, if the nature of the evidence were once fairly considered, and the relation fully determined which this subject bears to other sciences. This was the scheme of Lord Brougham's first Discourse, but the execution was imperfect, and these volumes do not complete the design. As the subject is of great interest in both a religious and a philosophical view, some desultory remarks upon it may be acceptable to a portion of our readers.

The great problem of Natural Theology is to prove the existence of a God, all the other questions being subsidiary to this, and in great measure dependent upon its solution. Two modes or classes of proof are presented, called the argument *a priori* and *a posteriori*. These appellations are unhappily chosen, for in such a case reasoning *a priori* is impossible, without assuming the very point at issue ; we cannot argue from cause to effect in order to prove the existence of a *First* Cause. And if the meaning of the term be restricted to original and intuitive perceptions, which are independent of experience, the distinction implied by the two phrases does not exist. These first principles of belief are implied in every act of ratiocination ; they are taken for granted in the argument from experience, and in every other proof. Besides, we cannot go behind the Divine existence in order to find a basis of proof ; we cannot assume a more comprehensive proposition, from which the fact itself can be deduced. We must reason upward to the first principle of all things ; and every argument urged with this design must be *a posteriori*.

But the implied distinction really exists, though improperly designated by two such phrases. In the one case we proceed by *moral* evidence, and the conclusion is termed in logic only *probable*, though it may amount to the highest degree of certainty, of which any argument based on experience is susceptible. In the other, the steps are linked together by *demonstrative* evidence, and the conclusion follows with math-

ematical certainty. We take no account of those, who assume the Divine existence as an intuitive truth, because their opinions admit of no argument, and to them Natural Theology does not exist as a distinct science. The question between the two modes of proof may appear to be one of pure curiosity, for the inquirer will surely ask, why they cannot be placed side by side, since neither excludes or limits the other, but only offers it fresh support. It is not enough to answer, that a position is improved in strength by removing every rotten or useless prop, which gives at least the appearance of insecurity to the fabric. The very existence of the dispute shows that neither of the proofs is wholly unnecessary, for there are some minds which rest with greater assurance on one argument, and some on another. Neither can remove what is useless to himself, without doing injury to his neighbour. To justify the rejection of either mode of reasoning, it must be shown, that our idea of the point to be proved is affected by the nature of the argumentative process. If the method *a posteriori* leads to an imperfect or grovelling conception of the Divine Existence, if it abandons the inquirer when he has advanced only half-way, forcing upon him a contingent truth, in place of that absolute and necessary conviction, which, on such a subject, his nature imperatively requires ; — or if the argument *a priori* conducts only to a confused and pantheistic notion of a God ; if it destroys his personality, and identifies him with an abstract principle, then it becomes a duty not only to prefer one mode of proof, but to expose the fallacy of the other. Here lies, we apprehend, the real ground of dispute. Not only are the two methods unlike ; the ultimate theories are contradictory. The question of preference between them ceases to be merely speculative. It exerts a direct and practical influence on our whole scheme of religious belief.

One preliminary remark is necessary, before entering upon the main question. The process by which belief is formed, often differs widely from the manner in which it is substantiated. Our opinions are often imbibed from education, or instinct, or casual circumstances. When attacked, they are often defended by arguments, which had no share in their formation, and in fact never occurred to us, before we had occasion to use them. Such is the case with the elements of religious truth. They were taught to us in infancy, or our minds were predisposed to receive them. " Man," says

Benjamin Constant, "is by nature a religious being, just as he is endowed with the use of language, and a disposition for society. He does not reason out his first creed; he adopts it in a great measure from impulse." All this may be true, but such a disposition does not, in itself, constitute an argument for the truth of his belief. It may be made the basis of such an argument, and he may reason up from it till he arrives at entire conviction. Other proofs may go along with it of equal, or even superior force, and it is no valid objection to them, that they had no influence in creating the original disposition to believe. Very few persons, probably, have been convinced for the first time by the proofs which theologians adduce; their assent may be modified or confirmed by such considerations; but it proceeded originally from another source, and was supported by different influences.

The distinction between moral and demonstrative evidence, relates not merely to the inherent difference between the two processes, but to the difference between the truths, which are substantiated by them. Historical facts rest upon one; abstract propositions upon the other. The creation of the world is a fact, just as much as the foundation of a particular city; it can be proved only by testimony, or from *data* collected by observation and experience. Abstract propositions can lead only to what is abstract, unless more is gathered in the conclusion than what was distributed in the premises. The existence of a creative Deity, then, can be proved only by what is called the argument *a posteriori*. In strictness, the present existence of external nature is a fact known only by experience; it is not a necessary truth, for we can conceive of its non-existence, and the idealist philosopher boldly denies its reality. It cannot be assumed as a *datum* in any species of demonstrative reasoning. Here lies the great defect of the argument adopted by Clarke. All activity, all manifestation of self, may be denied to the infinite Being, whose existence he endeavoured to prove. His argument must be eked out with facts drawn from experience, or the doctrine will coincide with that of Epicurus, who admitted the existence of a God, but denied that he had any agency in the affairs of this world. "*Quæ natura primùm nulla esse potest; idque videns Epicurus, re tollit, oratione relinquit, Deos.*" *

* *De Natura Deorum*, I. 123.

But we go further. The great truth of Natural Theology is in itself a *fact* of momentous interest. The being of a God is a reality, an existence in concrete. As such, it is not an object of mathematical or abstract reasoning. All demonstration begins by arbitrary definitions, and ends in abstractions. We might as well think of applying it to prove the fact of a deluge, or of any other event in the world's history, or to show the present existence of an electric fluid, pervading all matter, as to attempt using it in this inquiry. We do not limit its application to mathematics, nor overlook its successful introduction into the mixed sciences. Many propositions in ethics may be established with the same certainty, that attends the conclusions of the geometer, and by a perfectly similar process. Still, they are abstract propositions, and their application to particular cases, to the conduct of individuals, must always be contingent. The reason is obvious. We can speak with certainty of a subject of reasoning, only when its properties are all known and fixed, and its relations are determinate. Particular substances, things existing in concrete, cannot be thus perfectly determined. We can never be sure, that all their qualities have been taken into view, that the conclusion, at which we have arrived, may not be vitiated by something omitted in the primary definition. Or the attributes may shift during the process, or attendant circumstances may modify them in some unforeseen way ; and the possibility of such change, small though it be, still makes the result contingent. If a stone be propelled by hand, no mathematical skill, no acquaintance with the laws of motion, can mark out with precision the curve that it will describe, or the exact point at which it will reach the earth. There are a hundred attendant circumstances, which cannot be accurately appreciated, or stated with precision, but which must modify the result. But let the problem be stated hypothetically, let it be a stone of ideal, and therefore exact, measurement, let the propelling power be assumed of an exact force, let it be taken for granted, that no extraneous influences can operate, — and the geometer will show the course that the missile *must* take, and the spot where it *must* fall to the ground. The result can never be verified by experiment, but it must be true.

Another instance may be taken from the very elements of mathematical science. The geometer does not, as his name

would imply, measure the real earth. No boundaries are marked out, no actual limits are fixed, with the perfect precision which his method requires. He measures an ideal extension; his figures are perfect by hypothesis; they are limited by supposition to given conditions. Even the diagram before him is not the true object of his reasoning, but only its symbol. He proceeds, therefore, with absolute certainty to a determinate result. The law or rule, which he has investigated and established, is applied, it is true, to actual measurements; yet only by approximation. The nicest instrument which the skill of a Troughton or a Ramsden ever framed, only approximates the ideal perfection that the mathematician requires. The abstract result is certain; its application to real things, to existences in concrete, is contingent. Such is the nature of demonstrative reasoning, that this law must always hold. The mathematician owes his success, the precision and certainty of his results, only to his quitting the real world, and dealing with pure abstractions and hypotheses, to which, in strictness, his conclusions are limited. He who would obtain results of the same character, must pursue the same method. The moment he leaves this ideal region, and comes down to real things and events, to the actual instead of the possible, the sphere of demonstration ceases.

The question whether demonstration is limited to quantity, or how far it is applicable in morals, is hardly worth discussing, for it cannot affect the conclusion which we have just established. We incline to believe, that no principle, out of pure mathematics, can be demonstrated, which is not in itself intuitively certain. There are moral as well as physical truths, which can be built up on others of a similar character, or deduced from them, there being a necessary connexion among them. But in every such case it will probably be found, that the reasoning is unnecessary, because the truth of the first proposition is intuitively perceived, and therefore it needs no support. But, however this may be, absolute certainty belongs to the proposition, only when couched in general terms. It can be applied to particular cases only by approximation. The moral judgments of men do not always coincide; some actions are considered as meritorious in a particular age, or among certain nations, which are justly censured by posterity, or by a neighbouring people. Such disagree-

ment, we apprehend, may be often explained by the distinction here pointed out. The great principle of moral law must be the same in every age and place, for the dictates of conscience are universal, and cannot be misunderstood. But doubts frequently arise when we come to apply these principles, and a faulty rule may easily grow out of a single erroneous application.

If this view of the nature and province of demonstrative reasoning be correct, the impossibility of applying it to prove the existence of a God is perfectly manifest. Every attempt of the sort will be found to establish, not a Being, but a principle ; — not a particular fact, but a general truth. The name of the Supreme Being is often vaguely and erroneously applied, because his existence is a mystery, and his essence is unknown. Though it would be presumptuous to attempt a strict definition of the term, some applications of it are so evidently erroneous, that they may be rejected at once. The pantheist extends it to universal nature ; the mystical philosopher refines it into an abstract idea. In this way, indeed, the great truth may be demonstrated by reasoning *a priori ;* for we have intuitive evidence, that something exists, and, according to Spinoza, the being of a God includes all existence. All the great principles of morality are truths independent of all experience, and if these constitute a Deity, if his nature be limited to a few of its attributes, if the distinction between substance and accident be entirely done away, then, indeed, the first theorem of Natural Theology becomes a self-evident proposition.

There cannot be a happier illustration of these remarks than is afforded by the first step in Clarke's celebrated argument *a priori.* The proof, briefly stated, is as follows. Space and time are alike infinite and necessary, for we cannot conceive of their limitation or their non-existence ; they are not in themselves substances, but attributes, and as such necessarily presuppose a substance, without which they could not exist ; and this substance is, consequently, infinite and self-existent. Now, the word *substance*, as here used, is entirely indefinite ; the idea of it includes neither personality nor intelligence. The argument, at the utmost, proves only that something exists, and this *something* Clarke immediately assumes to be a particular Being. The sophism consists in this illogical transition from the general to the particular,

from the abstract to the concrete ; and a more palpable one can hardly be imagined. Besides, the proposition, that space and time are attributes, if not wholly unintelligible, must be understood in the same sense, as the proposition that human beings exist in space and time. Finite space and time are qualities of man, in the same way that eternity and immensity are attributes of the Supreme Being. Now, human beings are not necessary or self-existent. If finite space and time do not necessitate a finite substance, so neither do the ideas of immensity or eternity compel us to believe in an infinite substance. The whole argument rests on abuse of language. Time and space are not attributes, but *conditions of being*. We cannot conceive of any thing, except as existent under these conditions ; but we may conceive, that the conditions are fulfilled, while the reality is yet wanting. In Clarke's argument, the prerequisite is made to change places with the reality, or the thing conditioned. He infers the presence of the thing, from the fulfilment of the conditions, which is precisely inverting the two terms of the only legitimate inference.

The same argument assumes a more vague and mystical form in the hands of Cousin, who avoids the sophism, it is true, but jumps to the conclusion. Eternity and immensity are generalized by him, as both forms of the Infinite. The reality is then inferred from the idea, and the substance is avowedly swallowed up in the attribute. The absurdity of supposing that a thing exists, because we have an idea of it, can only be equalled by that of considering our imperfect notion of the Infinite as constituting the essence of the Divinity. Such are the fallacies into which men of acute and ingenious intellect are betrayed by the love of system, and the vain desire of setting forth their random speculations under the pompous garb of demonstrative reasoning.

The more judicious followers of Cousin put a gloss upon his argument, by which it is rendered more intelligible and less offensive. Their reasoning may be briefly stated as follows ; — All our perceptions relate to things which are known to be finite, limited, and contingent ; such ideas necessarily suggest and force upon the mind the correlative conception of something that is Infinite, Absolute, and Necessary. In the same way that the former class of ideas is accompanied with an irresistible conviction, that something exists to which they correspond, so those of the latter class

compel us to believe, that there is a Being, who is clothed with these attributes, and manifests himself in this form to the human soul. It is evident, that this argument is overstated; for, if it were correct, it would be quite as difficult to doubt the being of a God, as to question the reality of our own existence. In consciousness there is direct evidence of the existence of self, and perception gives immediate witness of the reality of an outward world. The knowledge of the true nature of both these objects of thought, as finite and limited, is subsequent to our recognition of them as realities. In the other case, the idea of the quality *suggests* the object to which it belongs, but this suggestion alone can never be made the basis of absolute conviction. This is one mode of explaining the origin, or first developement, of the religious principle in the soul, but it does not *prove* the existence of that Being, to whom religious feelings are directed. It is like the argument for immortality founded on the boundless aspirations of the spirit of man;—a consideration, certainly, of some weight, but one that would give little confidence, if other proofs were wanting.

There is but one other form of stating this argument, that now claims attention. It is that by Descartes, whose speculative and systematizing spirit made him far more anxious to round off his own theories, than to establish any truth in natural religion. The argument *a priori* in his hands is a mere brick in his philosophical edifice. We give the heads of it at some length; for, though frequently appealed to, we have seen no clear account and criticism of it in any publication of recent date. It is introduced at that stage of his inquiries, when, having commenced with doubting every thing, he had as yet proved only the existence of himself, and the presence of ideas to his mind.

Whence these ideas proceed, argues Descartes,—whether any prototype or cause of them exists in the outward world,—is another question, with which at present we have nothing to do. But whether I dream or wake, the reality of the ideas themselves, considered simply as objects present to the mind, is unquestionable. Now it is evident, that a cause must have at least as much force and reality as its effect. For how can it create or bestow that which it has not in itself? The ideas in my mind are images or pictures, which may want something of the perfection that is in their archetype, but

cannot go beyond the magnitude and excellence of their cause. Among other ideas in the mind, I find one of the Deity, understanding thereby an infinite and independent Being, the highest Intelligence, the Omnipotent cause of all things. The more this notion is examined, the more evident it is, that it does not proceed from me alone, that it is not the mere offspring of my imagination. Therefore, God necessarily exists ; for the idea of an infinite being cannot be created by me, who am finite, but it must proceed from some other substance, which is itself infinite. It cannot be objected to this argument, that the Infinite is not perceived by a positive idea, but only through a negation of the Finite, just as I conceive of rest and darkness through a negation of motion and light. For there is more reality in an infinite substance, than in a finite one, and the knowledge of the former is prior in time to that of the latter ;—that is, I have an idea of God, before I have one of myself. The acknowledgment of a want and the sense of imperfection can proceed only from the idea of a more perfect being, by comparison with whom I perceive my own defects.

It only remains, therefore, to inquire how this idea of God was obtained. It came not from the senses, for it did not rise unexpectedly, creating a feeling of surprise, as the ideas of external things do, when they strike upon the organs of perception for the first time. Nor was it made by my own agency, for I can neither enlarge nor diminish it. It is infinite, and therefore cannot be increased. An idea of perfection cannot be lessened, except only by removing it, and substituting another in its place. As the idea, then, had not its origin from the senses, and is not factitious, it must be innate ; it bears the artificer's own stamp, put upon his work to show who made it. In fine, "when I turn my attention within, I perceive that I am a being incomplete, dependent upon another, and reaching after something higher and better than my present state ; and that He, on whom I depend, enjoys all the perfections towards which I aspire,—enjoys them not merely potentially and to an indefinite extent, but in very truth and in an infinite degree. My nature could not be what it is,—that is, it could not possess this innate conception of the Deity,—unless he actually existed, and possessed all those attributes, which my thoughts can in nowise picture forth, or comprehend, and marked by no defects." Nothing

can be an attribute of the Divine nature, which implies limit or imperfection. Now, all fraud or violation of confidence proceeds from some moral defect. Consequently, we owe implicit faith to the testimony of those faculties, with which our Maker has endowed us, since he is a Being of perfect veracity, and cannot wilfully deceive. Thus, by contemplating the nature of the Deity, we rise from skepticism to a system of sure and well-grounded belief.

This sketch is sufficient to show, that Descartes used the great doctrine of natural theology only as a stepping-stone in his philosophical inquiries, as a means of accrediting the human faculties, and thereby of rising from universal doubt to a confident anticipation of success in the search after truth. The peculiarities of the argument, also, may be traced to the use which the author intended to make of it; for he could not avail himself of any evidence from the external world, nor rest his proof upon any preëstablished fact or principle, except that of his own existence and the presence of ideas to his mind. To reason from final causes, would expose him to the charge of first appealing to the divine attributes in proof of the authority of his faculties, and then of appealing to these faculties in proof of the existence of a God. He flattered himself, that the reasoning was wholly *a priori*, and that it amounted to a perfect demonstration of the doctrine. As such it was generally received by the eminent men of his time, and even Locke ventured to express his dissent only in a cautious and guarded manner. As in all other instances, in the "Essay," of controverting the doctrines of Descartes, he does not mention their author, not caring to appear openly as the opponent of a writer, whose authority stood so high in the philosophical world. "How far the idea of a most perfect being," he remarks, "which a man may frame in his mind, does or does not prove the existence of a God, I will not here examine. For, in the different make of men's tempers and application of their thoughts, some arguments prevail more on one, and some on another, for the confirmation of the same truth. But yet, I think, this I may say, that it is an ill way of establishing this truth, and silencing atheists, to lay the *whole* stress of so important a point as this upon that sole foundation; and to take some men's having that idea of God in their minds (for it is evident some men have none, and some worse than none, and the most

very different) for the only proof of a Deity." * The objection is here rather hinted at, than openly propounded, but it is a fatal one. Locke's tolerant and liberal disposition forbade him to reject entirely an argument, which might have some weight with minds peculiarly constituted, even while he showed the weakness of its claims as a demonstration.

We are far from denying any utility to this or the other so-called arguments *a priori*. Dugald Stewart long since remarked, that there is something peculiarly wonderful and overwhelming in those conceptions of Immensity and Eternity, which it is not less impossible to banish from our thoughts, than the consciousness of our own existence ; and that when we have once established, from the evidences of design everywhere manifested around us, the existence of an intelligent and powerful *Creator*, we are unavoidably led to apply these conceptions, and to conceive him as filling the infinite extent of space and duration with his presence and his power. So, too, the notion of *necessary existence*, which is, perhaps, first derived from this source, becomes more easy of apprehension when applied to the Supreme Being. Whatever lifts the mind by such powerful means from contemplating the finite and contingent things of this world, cannot fail to predispose it towards receiving the sublime doctrines of natural theology. It is only when the claims of such reasoning are injudiciously urged, when it is set forth as a perfect demonstration, that it becomes necessary to examine its validity, and to guard against arguments of the same class that are retorted against those proofs of the being of a God, which are open to every capacity, and which constitute to most minds the sole ground of belief. If such speculations are viewed only in their proper light, as abstract theories falling within the province of the metaphysician, or if they are brought in only as subsidiary to the real argument, by which great practical truths are established, much good may be the result. But these fine-spun reveries of an ingenious and philosophical mind form weapons, that may be wielded on either side with nearly equal effect. If their use is allowed to be unexceptionable in such a cause, if even the whole weight of proof is rested upon them, then the objections of Hume and other skeptical metaphysicians must be admitted

* *Essay on Human Understanding ;* Book IV., Ch. x. § 7.

to be fairly and appropriately urged, and must be refuted by arguments of the same class. But let the nature of the subject be properly considered, and the reasoning confined to the ordinary channel for the proof of facts, and these cobweb difficulties may be dispersed by a breath, though they would otherwise be powerful enough to shake the whole fabric of religious faith.

The argument of Descartes, when closely scrutinized, will be found to differ very little from those which we have already examined. The great fallacy in it consists in supposing, that the enlarged and grand conception of Deity, which the mind gradually forms by precept and reflection, is wholly original and spontaneous in its growth, because some of its elements undoubtedly possess this character. Descartes did not consider how difficult of execution was his plan to revoke all his past opinions into doubt, and to present his mind as a *tabula rasa* for the reception of pure and well-accredited truth. The thoughts and impressions of a whole lifetime could not be wiped away by a single effort of the will. They had left indelible traces on his intellect, and with all his acuteness he could not distinguish between them and the original characters, in which he would fain recognise the handwriting of his Maker. The ideas of infinitude and perfection are the only ones, the spontaneous origin of which can be affirmed with the least shade of probability; and how far are these abstract and general notions from constituting our whole conception of the Supreme Being. Personality, real existence, unity, and activity must all be joined to these two abstract notions, before the idea is complete, and he must be a bold theorist, indeed, who will maintain the primitive character, the origin *a priori*, of all these elements. Thus the proof by Descartes appears nearly the same with that by Clarke, the only difference being, that the former argues from the innate and spontaneous character of the two ideas up to the Being who implanted them in the mind, while the latter lays the foundation of his reasoning upon their necessary existence as attributes. Of course, Clarke's argument is the only one, which has any pretensions to the title of reasoning *a priori*. It is the same thing, whether we reason from the anatomy of the body or that of the mind, when the peculiar structure of each is the only ground for affirming, that it is the work of an intelligent Creator.

The same remark applies to the other form of Clarke's argument, of which we have, as yet, taken no notice. It is nothing but reasoning *a posteriori* in disguise. He begins with the proposition, that "*something* has existed from all eternity"; from which it follows, that "either there has always existed some one unchangeable and independent Being, from which all other beings, that are or ever were in the universe, have received their original; or else there has been an infinite succession of changeable and dependent beings, produced one from another in an endless progression, without any original cause at all." It is evident that the word *something*, afterwards explained as an "infinite succession of being," is here skilfully used as the most vague and general expression for the universe of animate and inanimate things, in order to cover up the fact, that this pretended demonstration *a priori* actually rests upon an empirical *datum*, a truth made known only by experience. The reasoning proceeds by inference from the world to the world's Creator; and, though not so clear and satisfactory to most minds as the argument from design, it belongs to the same class of proofs, and, when fairly stated, is perhaps equally decisive. We admit its cogency, and are certainly very far from charging Clarke with any indirection designed to deceive, when he presented it under such phraseology. His mind had a strong bias towards metaphysical reasoning, and the vagueness of the terms, which he was compelled to adopt, often blinded him as to the true character of his arguments.

If this examination has shown any reason to believe that metaphysical arguments are inapplicable and inconclusive in proving the existence of a God, we may hope to show also, that they are equally sophistical and out of place, when brought forward as objections to this great doctrine. Hume and other writers of his class are only formidable on their own ground. Many passages in his writings indicate, that he was himself aware of the true character of his fine-spun skepticism, and that he proposed his doubts as mere philosophical diversions and exercises in dialectics, without any expectation of influencing the conduct of men, or of changing their opinions on practical subjects. Many theists have attempted to answer him on his own principles, and have met with all the success, perhaps, which is possible in such an enterprise. But it is characteristic of such engagements, that the victory should remain doubtful. We reach firm ground for the discussion,

and gain some hope of terminating it successfully, only when we have fairly determined the point that is to be proved ; for then the proper mode of arriving at it will be manifest. It is impossible to tell by what road we are to travel, till we know what is to be the end of our journey.

We understand the question to relate to the being of a personal God, the Creator of heaven and earth, really distinct from nature though pervading it with his presence, the infinitely wise and active Cause and Ruler of all things. We have seen, that strict demonstrative reasoning, or the argument *a priori*, so called, is powerless for establishing the fact of such an Existence ; that it can only prove an abstract proposition, such as the *necessary* character of an idea, or the immutability of a principle. Descartes, Clarke, and others, who first reduced this argument to shape, did not see that it led only to such a barren conclusion. Otherwise, they would have rejected the reasoning at once, as insufficient, for they held to the common notion respecting the nature of Deity. But in our own days, this lame and impotent result has been avowedly held forth as the only proper conception of a God. His existence is reasoned away into an abstraction. His nature is identified with a universal idea. Without any taste for denunciation, or any wish to throw odium on the persons entertaining such views, many of whom have pure minds and excellent characters, we must still consider such doctrines as amounting to downright atheism. The first dogma of natural religion affirms the distinct existence of an individual Being, whose unity and personality are not mere attributes, that may be affirmed or denied at pleasure, the great fact itself still remaining ; but they are definitions of his nature, necessary parts of our conception of him, and, as such, cannot be denied without rejecting the whole doctrine. This proposition is so obvious, that it is hardly susceptible of comment or explanation. A general idea, a law, a principle, is a fantastic thing of man's device, a mere word, which has neither substance nor reality, and which was invented with no object beyond the convenience of thought and the uses of language. Take all the great laws of ethics, for instance. The emotion excited by the bare mention of moral principle, the reverence which we express for truth and justice, were first excited by the manifestation of these qualities in particular acts. It is the individual man, whose estimable conduct draws forth that glow of

moral approbation, which is subsequently transferred by the association of ideas to the principles of that conduct considered in the abstract. If those who would put reverence for moral law in the place of religious feeling, who would direct adoration only to purity and holiness in the abstract, and not to the one Being of whom they are the attributes, were consistent in their belief, or saw the reach and application of their own principles, they would worship only their brother man, and him only in particular cases, and to that extent which his conduct merited.

We may appear to labor this point too much ; but the tone which speculation has recently assumed on these subjects, justifies and requires a full exposition of this absurd and noxious doctrine. The infidelity with which the present age is menaced is not the coarse and sneering unbelief, the dogmatical and blasphemous expression of which revolts us in the writings of the free-thinking philosophers of the last century. Good taste, if not sound reason, rejects such indecencies, and at the present day we are too refined, if not too wise, to tolerate them. The errors which now threaten to obtain some prevalence, belong to the same class with the sentimental deism of Rousseau, and the mystical atheism of Shelley. The garb is more seductive, but the doctrine is not less pernicious. Fervid but unmeaning expressions of reverence for the principles of right conduct and the abstract conceptions of ethics, are substituted, not merely for the language of piety, but for the belief in a Supreme Being. Good sense is outraged, and all right feeling profaned, by an absurd transposition of the actual and the ideal ; all reality being denied to former distinct objects of religious faith, while it is affirmed of shadows and abstractions. Thus, the natural fountain of awe and adoration in the human heart, deep-seated and perennial, which should flow forth only at the name of the Infinite One, finds vent in an unmeaning rant about mere words,— shades and semblances of things, too unsubstantial for language to describe, or intellect to comprehend.

We return to the consideration of the argument *a posteriori*. The great merit of Lord Brougham's "Preliminary Discourse" consists in the clear perception and statement of this truth ; that *the first branch of Natural Theology is strictly an inductive science, formed and supported by the same kind of reasoning on which Physics and Natural Philosophy are built.*

"There is as great an appearance of diversity between the manner in which we arrive at the knowledge of different truths in those inductive sciences, as there is between the nature of any such inductive investigation and the proofs of the ontological branches of Natural Theology." This is an important and fruitful proposition, which we believe may be established to the full conviction of every unprejudiced mind. Though not carried out and applied with that fullness of illustration, which the subject requires, especially in reference to the arguments of skeptical metaphysicians, the statement of it shows the writer's clear understanding of the logical nature of the question, and the stress put upon it denotes his sense of its importance.

If it be true, most of the objections urged by Hume, Kant, and others, are not simply evaded, but entirely put aside as irrelevant, and having no bearing on the point at issue. The theorist who should interrupt the moral training of youth with his doubts about the freedom of the will; the idealist who would seek to stop the labors of the mechanic by instructing him about the non-existence of matter; the metaphysician who would impede the geologist in his survey of the earth, and investigation of its early history, by speculations about the connexion between cause and effect, or by a calculation of chances respecting the forms that might be created by a fortuitous concourse of atoms in an infinite series of years,—these persons, we say, would not act more absurdly and inconsistently, than does the skeptical philosopher, who endeavours to invalidate the argument from design for the being of a God, by his cobweb theories and fantastical abstractions. Such views and reasonings as he proposes, undoubtedly have their use, but their place is strictly limited to the domain of pure speculation. If carried beyond this limit, if applied to prove or disprove particular affirmations respecting concrete existences, their futility may be at once manifested by showing their comprehensiveness. From their general nature, if valid in one case, they are so in all; they sap the foundations of every science; they take away all trust in our cognitive faculties; they render exertion needless, and life a dream. Such sweeping skepticism destroys itself. It is finely remarked by Sir James Mackintosh, that "whatever attacks every principle of belief can destroy none. When the skeptic boasts of having involved the results of experience and the elements of geometry in the same ruin with the doctrines of

religion and the principles of philosophy, he may be answered, that no dogmatist ever claimed more than the same degree of certainty for these various convictions and opinions; and that his skepticism, therefore, leaves them in the relative condition in which it found them."

One remark is necessary, before we go on to show the perfect similarity between the reasoning of the theist and that which is employed in all the inductive sciences. Though the proofs are the same in kind, they are very different in degree. In many departments of physics, the inquirer may theorize more rapidly than the facts will warrant; but the objection to his theories does not lie against his mode of procedure, or the particular *organon* of investigation which he has adopted, but against his limited observation. The reasoning which convinces a scientific man of his error, is the same in kind with that which led him into it. The geologist, for instance, rears by hypothesis a wide structure upon a few facts. Further investigations may induce him to abandon the theory, but he forms a new one on the same general principles. The chemist may be mistaken, when he reasons from a few *data*, while the mode of reasoning is unimpeachable. Now, the proofs of design which form the basis of the theologian's argument are numerous beyond calculation. They are diffused everywhere, above, around, and within us. They are not drawn from a few scratches on mountains of rock, or from fossil remains here and there dug up from the earth, and put together with slow toil, so that their history may be read. They do not rest on a few experiments carefully devised and with difficulty repeated. The study of years is not required, before their import can be made known to a few, while the bulk of mankind must remain ignorant of the doctrine, or receive it on trust. These are difficulties, with which the geologist, the chemist, the astronomer must contend. But the marks of contrivance, that form the language in which the sublime dogma of God's existence is written, fill the earth and skies, and are open alike to the most elevated and the meanest capacity. They are equally obvious in the structure of every blade of grass, and in the mechanism of the heavens. They exist alike in the object perceived, and in the percipient mind; in the hand that fashions, the ear that hears, and the lungs that breathe. They are found in the bones of extinct races, and in the habits of all living things; in the

skeleton of the mammoth, and in the instinct which teaches the bee to frame its wonderful cell, and guides the waterfowl to its nest. The atmosphere that wraps the earth in a garment, testifies his presence, and the sun bears witness to him who lighted up its fires. "There is no speech nor language, where their voice is not heard. There line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world."

And it is no doubtful inference, no long and tedious process of reasoning, which connects all these facts with the being of a God. The conclusion is so obvious, the connexion so close and striking, that we believe none but a mind wilfully obtuse, or one that had been perverted by logical subtilties and metaphysical abstractions, ever failed to receive it with perfect trust at the first view. The simple doctrine is, that, a great number of agents being found to work together by a complex and intricate, yet orderly process, towards the attainment of some end, there must exist an intelligent and active being, who had this end in view, and who made this disposition of the agents as means for its accomplishment. Orderly coöperation implies intelligent and directing power. And the order may be so perfect, and the number of coöperating agents so great, that this implication becomes what is called in common discourse, not in logic, *absolute certainty*. When the material frame of a living thing is so organized and put together, that a great number of motions and effects can be produced with ease and within a small compass, all of them being subservient to the preservation of the animal's existence and closely adapted to its mode of life, the inference that this animal was fashioned by an intelligent Creator is irresistible. When such instances of joint agency and adaptation are found to be not few in number, and scattered, as it were, by chance amidst an infinite number of conflicting powers, disorderly arrangements, and nugatory results, but manifestations of a great law that pervades all nature, uniformity being the general rule, and the varieties being strictly suited to the different circumstances, and all the parts, by a visible connexion, tending towards and effecting one general result,—namely, the happiness of animal and intelligent life,—then the conclusion, that the whole framework of the universe was designed and executed by one Being of surpassing wisdom and goodness, comes home to the mind with a force and clearness, which no prejudice can reject and no sophistry evade.

We have stated the argument in very guarded, and therefore not very perspicuous language, in order to avoid the common objection to Paley's statement of it, by which he is charged with assuming the only point at issue ; though, by the bye, this objection is founded only on a pitiful quibbling with words. To illustrate the point of the reasoning, we translate from the French an anecdote, that may be found copied into the notes to Dugald Stewart's "Dissertation on the Progress of Philosophy."

"Among the associates of the Baron d'Holbach, Diderot one day proposed that they should select an advocate to plead the cause of the Deity, and the Abbé Galiani was chosen. He took his seat, and commenced as follows.

"'One day at Naples, a certain person in our presence put six dice into a dice-box, and offered a wager that he would throw *sizes* with the whole set. I said, that the chance was possible. He threw the dice in this way twice in succession ; and I still observed, that possibly he had succeeded by chance. He put back the dice into the box for the third, fourth, and fifth time, and invariably threw *sizes* with the whole set. "*By the blood of Bacchus,*" I exclaimed, "*the dice are loaded* ;" and so they were.

"'Philosophers, when I look at the order of Nature that is constantly reproduced, its fixed laws, its successive changes invariably producing the same effect ; when I consider, that there is but one chance which can preserve the universe in the state in which we now see it, and that this always happens, in spite of a hundred million of other possible chances of perturbation and destruction, I cry out, '*Surely Nature's dice are also loaded.*'"

The argument is here so plain and forcible, and affords so little room for sophistry and cavilling, that we cannot conceive of a person failing to be convinced by it, though he may wish to show his ingenuity in commenting upon it, as a piece of reasoning. It is true, that this mode of proof is not, strictly speaking, a demonstration. "The conclusion is not apodictical," says Kant ; and this is the chief fault, which he has to urge against the argument *a posteriori*. But what does such an objection amount to ? Suppose, that, after Franklin had proved the presence of electricity in a thunder-cloud, by drawing the fluid to the earth, charging a Leyden jar with it, and causing it to manifest all the common electrical phenomena, a by-stander should still object in this wise to his doctrine and proof ; "You are judging of the presence of a thing only from its effects ;

the truth of the theory opposed to yours is still conceivable; your facts and arguments do not constitute a chain of reasoning, like that which supports a proposition in Euclid." The plain answer would be, that the affirmation is supported by the only evidence, of which, in the nature of things, it is susceptible. A fact can be proved only by other facts. That which is not perceptible to the senses, can be made known only through its effects. And though the proof be not a demonstration, to reject it would be quite as strong an indication of folly or insanity as to deny the truth of any theorem in geometry.

Modern discoveries in geology afford many striking illustrations of our position, that the common argument for the being of a God is the same in character with the reasoning that is constantly used in the inductive sciences. Lord Brougham has described these points of coincidence with so much force and clearness, that we borrow his language, though the passage is somewhat long for quotation.

"That this branch of scientific inquiry is singularly attractive, all will allow. Nor will any one dispute that its cultivation demands great knowledge and skill. But this is not our chief purpose in referring to it. There can be as little doubt that the investigation, in the strictest sense of the term, forms a branch of physical science, and that this branch sprang legitimately from the grand root of the whole, — induction; in a word, that the process of reasoning employed to investigate, the kind of evidence used to demonstrate, its truths, is the modern analysis or induction taught by Bacon and practised by Newton. Now wherein, with reference to its nature and foundations, does it vary from the inquiries and illustrations of Natural Theology? When from examining a few bones, or it may be a single fragment of a bone, we infer that, in the wilds where we found it, there lived and ranged, some thousands of years ago, an animal wholly different from any we ever saw, and from any of which any account, any tradition, written or oral, has reached us, nay, from any that ever was seen by any person of whose existence we ever heard, we assuredly are led to this remote conclusion, by a strict and rigorous process of reasoning; but as certainly we come through that process to the knowledge and belief of things unseen, both of us and of all men, — things respecting which we have not, and cannot have, a single particle of evidence, either by sense or by testimony. Yet we harbour no doubt of the fact; we go further, and not only implicitly believe the existence of this creature, for which we are forced to invent a name, but clothe it with attributes, till, rea-

soning step by step, we come at so accurate a notion of its forms and habits, that we can represent the one, and describe the other, with unerring accuracy ; picturing to ourselves how it looked, what it fed on, and how it continued its kind.

" Now, the question is this ; What perceivable difference is there between the kind of investigations we have just been considering, and those of Natural Theology, — except, indeed, that the latter are far more sublime in themselves, and incomparably more interesting to us ? Where is the logical precision of the arrangement which would draw a broad line of demarkation between the two speculations, giving to the one the name and the rank of a science, and refusing it to the other, and affirming that the one rested upon induction, but not the other ? We have, it is true, no experience directly of that Great Being's existence in whom we believe as our Creator ; nor have we the testimony of any man relating such experience of his own. But so, neither we, nor any witnesses in any age, have ever seen those works of that Being, the lost animals that once peopled the earth ; and yet the lights of inductive science have conducted us to a full knowledge of their nature, as well as a perfect belief in their existence. Without any evidence from our senses, or from the testimony of eyewitnesses, we believe in the existence and qualities of those animals, because we infer by the induction of facts that they once lived, and were endowed with a certain nature. This is called a doctrine of inductive philosophy. Is it less a doctrine of the same philosophy, that the eye could not have been made without a knowledge of optics, and, as it could not make itself, and as no human artist, though possessed of the knowledge, has the skill and power to fashion it by his handy-work, that there must exist some being of knowledge, skill, and power superior to our own, and sufficient to create it?"—pp. 49 – 51.

It would be difficult, indeed, in any of the physical sciences, wherein we advance from one truth to another, to find a transition more gradual, a step in the argument more plain and easy, than that by which we proceed in the argument from design. A certain arrangement of materials, by which a certain effect is produced, is at once recognised by us as the production of intelligence, and the end is perceived to be an intentional one. In some instances, the intelligence and design are at once referred to man, the work being a human invention. In others, knowing that the machine surpasses human power and skill, we are compelled to refer it to a higher intelligence, to an adequate and designing Cause. We say,

that the nature of different things could not of itself, through so many coöperating means, produce determinate ends, unless these means had been chosen and arranged for this very purpose, through a preconceived plan by a directing and intelligent agent. If we were shown for the first time a complex piece of machinery, a power-loom or a steam-engine, we should not hesitate a moment in ascribing it to human contrivance. Can we deny, then, that the far more skilful piece of mechanism, the human hand, with all its apparatus of joints, tendons, arteries, and skin, is equally a product of intelligence and design, simply because it is known, that the skill of man could not have fashioned it, and therefore we are obliged to ascribe the wisdom and intention to a being of a higher order? The different age of the two inventions makes no important distinction between the cases. Suppose that the power-loom or steam-engine, unknown in modern days, had been dug out of the rocks, like the fossils of an elder world. Would not its discovery afford irrefragable evidence, that men, or a race of beings of skill and power like those of men, existed in the days when those rocks were formed, though no bones or other direct traces of their existence could be found? Yet the skeletons of Ichthyosauri and Megatheria have actually been cut out of the rocks, and their structure affords evidence of creative wisdom and forethought a hundredfold greater than what is given by the engines in question. Thus, even if the present world were a blank in respect to the proofs of design, if we were thrown back upon geological researches for all the traces of God's power, still the great truth of his being would be as indisputably established by those researches, as any other doctrine in the whole science. It would be established by the same species of evidence, the same kind of reasoning, as that through which the Cuviers, the Bucklands, and the Lyells have shown what was the condition of the earth ages ago, when the ocean rolled over the summits of the highest mountains, and what is now the bottom of the sea was dry land.

But it is objected to our argument, that, for aught we know, this vast machine of the universe, which is continually propagating and renewing itself, had no beginning, but has existed from all eternity in an infinite series of changes, decay, and restoration. Apply the corresponding objection to the whole doctrine of geology. Tell the student of that

science, that possibly the marine shells, found embedded in stone on the tops of the Alleghanies and the Alps, have been for ever in their present situation, and never grew beneath the ocean; that the fossil skeletons are equally eternal with the rocks; that there is no distinction, in respect to age, between organic and inorganic things; that the branches and leaves of palm trees and other tropical plants, the perfect shape of which is now moulded in fossil coal, always existed in that coal, and never waved beneath a burning sun; and that the marks of igneous origin and alluvial deposit in the various classes of rocks are all deceptive, mere freaks in the casual disposition of brute matter, which tell no story about the antecedent conditions of the earth's surface. It is certainly impossible for the geologist to get rid of this objection by a direct answer, or by reasoning of the same kind. He could only say, that the supposition of his antagonist was certainly a possible one, though to feign actual belief of it would outrage all common sense; that it was either proposed in the mere spirit of cavilling, to show the ingenuity of the disputant, or else, that the author of it was a different being from other men, and that it was useless to argue with him. We doubt, whether any writer of reputation on this science ever condescended to notice this hypothesis; certainly it would be idle to set himself seriously at work to disprove it. Perhaps it would be well for writers on Natural Theology to imitate this reserve. For which is the more credible supposition; that what appear like fossil bones and shells never belonged to living animals, but formed originally part of the rock and earth, in which they are now found imbedded; or that this wonderful framework and garniture of the heavens, this system of revolving worlds, whose motions and inequalities are so wonderfully balanced and adjusted, all subject to one law, exerting mutual influence but never interfering, with the appendage of minor orbs, all working harmoniously with the great scheme, — that this stupendous machine, we say, was not contrived and set in motion, for the first time, at a definite period, was never designed at all, but has gone on doing its work from everlasting?

We have thus far granted to the atheist more than was necessary, by supposing that the two adverse hypotheses, which we have considered, were entirely parallel. But, in truth, they are not so, for the one relating to the eternity of

the universe, as a whole, is, if possible, still more absurd, than that which confounds the original and the secondary formations on the surface of the earth. In the former case, we can offer a direct refutation of the theory, while in the latter, as we have seen, the geologist can only refer to the intrinsic balance of probability against the hypothesis, which is so great, that a man of sound reason cannot entertain it for a moment. Nothing can be clearer than this, that, if the universe has existed from all eternity, it must continue to exist for an eternity to come. For, by the hypothesis, there can be no cause *ab extra* of dissolution, and any inherent principles of decay and ruin must have manifested themselves during an infinite series of years. If they have not done so in the infinite duration that is past, it is a proof that they do not exist, and there are none to operate in all future time. In technical phrase, what is infinite *a parte ante*, must also be infinite *a parte post*. But the absurdity of attributing an infinite continuance to the totality of things is at once manifest. All living things are subject to death as individuals, and even their propagation and lasting existence as races is wholly contingent and uncertain. No genus or species bears the marks of necessary continuance, and it is absurd to speak of the eternal existence, either way, of an object, the life of which is not insured in the nature of things. Or, to use an argument that is level to the comprehension of all, we may refer to the recent discovery of astronomers, that the whole solar system is pervaded by an ether, the resistance of which must cause eventually the destruction of that system. Of course, the machine, with such a disturbing cause in it, could not have existed through an infinite antecedent time.

There is another hypothesis of the atheists, of which it may be proper to take some notice, although the absurdities, into which they have themselves been driven in the attempt to develope and apply it, constitute a sufficient refutation of the whole doctrine. It is, that the inherent powers of matter have sufficed, during the lapse of ages, to produce all the organized forms and existences, that now people the earth. Some of the French materialists have bestowed great pains on the exhibition and defence of this monstrous theory, — the more willingly because it offers wide scope for a lively fancy and a weak judgment; and even Buffon has partially lent them the authority of his great name. It may seem

idle to argue seriously against the hypothesis, that all the higher orders of animal life, even man himself, have been successively produced and elaborated, as it were, out of reptiles, that were first spontaneously generated from the slime of the sea. Yet, admitting, what we are entitled to claim, that the world, as it now exists, had a beginning in time, those who deny the existence of one intelligent Creator are driven, perforce, by the argument *a posteriori* to this extravagant supposition. A more complete *reductio ad absurdum* could hardly follow, even from the proof which claims exclusively the title of a demonstration. But if the theory in respect to the origin of animal life is too wild and ridiculous to merit a serious confutation, the explanation, that it proffers, of the way in which the inanimate portions of the universe were fitly arranged without the aid of a designing Cause, deserves a passing remark. The force of gravity is, of course, the great agent through which, it is supposed, this vast machinery of worlds was originally put together. The various forms in which this force now manifests itself, — through the winds and tides, for instance, — often producing curious and regular effects, seemingly of a casual and undesigned origin, lend a shade of probability to the theory. That gravitation, which now appears only as a sustaining power, should be considered also as a creative one, is a violent supposition, that few will be inclined to entertain ; but it is not the only difficulty in the hypothesis.

The work of creation cannot be explained through means and agents, which are in themselves a part of that creation. We have no right to suppose, that the power which belongs to a system or a machine, when already constructed and in action, is inherent in the parts or constituent elements of that system, and would manifest itself before those parts were fashioned or arranged. Still further, when that which is called a *power*, or a *quality*, is found to be nothing but a law of action, or the mode in which the machine works, it is contradictory and absurd to maintain, that it was the agent through which the action commenced. Let us grant, for a moment, the eternal existence of brute and inorganic matter. The postulate of the atheist, that gravity is an inherent quality of that matter, is contradictory, if not wholly unmeaning. It is as if we should say, that regular action is an inherent property of wheels, springs, and weights, however placed, because, when

fashioned into a clock, these parts work regularly upon each other. We may assume, that impenetrability is an inherent quality of matter, because it is a necessary part of our conception of brute substance. But gravitation is no such necessary element. The term is nothing but a convenient generalization of many facts. We say, that a stone falls to the ground, and the earth revolves round the sun, both by the force of gravity, only because the velocities and distances of the two movements bear a fixed ratio to each other. That this similarity of action is caused by some occult quality common to the two bodies, a quality of which we have no experience, and which it is impossible to detect, is a wholly gratuitous supposition, even when the bodies are connected as parts of one system. But to carry this guesswork still further, to suppose that this imaginary quality in the parts of a machine is a property also of the inorganic substance, from which those parts are fabricated, is to turn theory into burlesque. If imagination is allowed to wander in this manner in forming hypotheses, it is unnecessary to confine ourselves to such a comparatively inefficient agent as gravitation. We may as well suppose, that every atom of matter is animated by a free and intelligent spirit, and that the unanimity of these principles regulates the action of the engine, just as proper concert between them caused its fabrication. Such a theory would be quite as plausible, as the one which considers gravity as a quality inherent in matter, to which, indeed, it is perfectly similar in character. Neither is susceptible of direct proof, or of direct refutation. They are purely imaginary.

Our position is, that in respect to the condition of matter considered entirely apart from mind, but three hypotheses are possible. First ; that it is dead, formless, and motionless, and that the slightest change in its state is inconceivable. No winds agitate the surface of a chaotic ocean ; no tides heave its waters ; no waves break upon its silent shores. Secondly; that it is so moulded and arranged, that a foreign force constantly applied in one or a few directions, answering to what we call the general *laws of nature*, suffices to produce a great variety of effects ; just as the single downward tendency of a weight causes a very complex movement in the interior of a clock, and gives origin to all the different appearances on its face. Thirdly ; that what are called *secondary causes* are

really no causes at all, but only mark the occasions on which events and changes take place, all of which are brought about by the direct agency of a power, that is wholly foreign to this world. The second and third suppositions are equally consistent with the doctrine of the being of a God, the only difference between them relating to the manner in which his influence is exerted. In both these theories, he is represented not only as the creating, but the sustaining, power of the universe. The last of the three is certainly the most philosophical opinion, for it avoids the difficulty of attributing efficient causation to matter, where it can never be perceived, and of believing from the immediate sequence in time of two events, that there is a necessary connexion between them. But the second hypothesis is the more common one, and is equally favorable to the great doctrine, that the Deity is not only constantly present in all his works, but actuates and sustains them through his unceasing power. The succession of events is never stopped ; the great clock of the universe never runs down. To deny the existence of a God is to fall back upon the first hypothesis, according to which creation and change are alike impossible, and the actual nature and appearance of things is an inexplicable dream.

Human experience, arguing from a limited number of effects, can only establish the existence of a Cause proportionate to them. The *infinite* power and wisdom of the Deity cannot be inferred directly from the finite evidences, which alone are subject to our observation. But this defect in the argument *a posteriori*, though much insisted upon, is really of little consequence. The proof is sufficient for the great doctrine of his existence as an independent and primal cause, and with attributes beyond the power of human intellect to comprehend. The argument from the effect cannot stop short of the *primitive* cause. This point being established, we may safely reason from it in the inverse order of our former course, and thus supply the deficiency by a strict and unexceptionable argument *a priori*. That is ; the conception of the Deity and the reality of his existence, to which we rise from evidence afforded by his works, supply the required *data* for reasoning of the opposite character, and enable us to demonstrate his infinite goodness, wisdom, and power. Each of these attributes may be easily deduced from the doctrine of his independent nature, and primary, or un-

caused, existence. We have not room to develope the proof, but refer the curious reader to Clarke's treatise, the portion of which relating to the Attributes is unexceptionable.

We had purposed to illustrate still further the positions, that the argument from design is perfectly analogous to the reasoning employed in all the inductive sciences, and that the conclusion to which it leads us cannot be rejected, without destroying at the same time the basis of all human knowledge. The illustrations which we have given are chiefly drawn from geology, not because they are more numerous and complete in that science than in any other, but because they are more obvious and striking, and require little collateral information in order to be fully understood. In astronomy, and that part of chemistry relating to imponderable agents, in the investigations respecting the history and condition of ancient tribes, and the physical history of the human race, or the science which is now called *anthropology*, matter enough might be found to elucidate and sustain our conclusion. But we can only allude to these sources, and leave to others the task of drawing from them additional confirmation of the truth, which we have endeavoured to establish. Enough has been said to answer our original purpose, and to vindicate the judgment of Paley in selecting his argument and avoiding all impertinent and extraneous matter. His object was merely to present in the smallest compass an argument, level to the comprehension of all, and perfectly conclusive, in favor of the great truths of natural theology. The metaphysical subtilties, with which the argument had been encumbered, were avoided by him, not more from a natural distaste for such speculations, than from a conviction that they were out of his path, and had nothing to do with the point at issue. He saw clearly the nature of the inquiry, and the place which it held relatively to other exercises of the human mind. He pursued it, not as a theorist, but as a searcher after truth; not as a logician, nor an anatomist, nor a historian, but with the single purpose of imparting to others the full conviction, that was present to his own understanding. And the consequence has been what we noticed in the commencement of our remarks; that, while metaphysicians have exposed his errors and quibbled upon his reasoning, and men of the highest scientific reputation, with all the assistance furnished by recent discoveries, have followed upon his track, his work as a whole has never been

refuted or superseded. It remains the chief text-book on the subject of which it treats, and thousands are indebted to it for a confirmation of their faith on matters of the most vital importance to man.

ART. V.—*History of the Netherlands.* By THOMAS COLLEY GRATTAN. New York: Harper, Brothers, & Co. 1840.

LITTLE more than a year has passed since the establishment of the Boston and Liverpool line of steam packets placed England, as may be said, in close neighbourhood with this country. We now learn that Belgium, following the example of Great Britain, has taken the next step among the European powers towards facilitating an intercourse with the United States. We should certainly meet this movement at least half way. And before the fine steam-ship the "British Queen," lately purchased by the Belgian government for the passage between Antwerp and New York, makes her next voyage across the Atlantic under her new owners, and probably with a new name, we think it advisable to lay before our readers on this side of the ocean some information, not yet generally diffused, relative to the country between which and us this gallant vessel is to form another bond. And we may fairly promise them convincing proofs of the many claims to regard and admiration, possessed by this new and still imperfectly known kingdom,— the only state which, in all the European revolutions of the last half century, has effected its independence on a rational and solid basis.

According to usage, we have placed at the head of this article the title of a work connected with the subject of which it treats. But, although furnishing a text on which we may extensively dilate, we regret that we have been led, by the date on its title-page, to expect much more than the volume contains. We find, in fact, that this volume, brought forth by the New York publisher so lately, is but a re-issue of the stereotyped edition published in Philadelphia some years ago, being a mere reprint of the first London edition of the work, which appeared in 1830, bringing the history down

only to the battle of Waterloo ; while the alterations required by circumstances, and the additions called for by the popularity of the subject, and contained in several subsequent London editions which bring the matter down to 1830, are altogether omitted.

We think this extremely unjust, to the author as well as to the public. Nothing can appear much more absurd than to find in the opening paragraph of a work, bearing the date of 1840, a description of boundaries as belonging to "the Kingdom of Netherlands," which kingdom had actually ceased to exist (by the action of the revolution which separated Belgium from Holland) ten years previously. And it is, on the other hand, rather unfair to those who desire to learn the important events of Dutch and Belgian history from the year 1815 to 1830, and who are aware that the late editions of Mr. Grattan's work contain a succinct account of those transactions, that they should find themselves deprived of what may be by many considered the most valuable portion of it; for it is scarcely to be expected, that any other American publisher will reprint the book, in rivalry with the one issued from the New York press, merely for the sake of the additional matter, important as that may be.

It is but two years ago, that, in an article on international copyright,* we exposed some of the injustice done to alien writers by the present system of republication in this country. Since then a remarkable instance of hardship has been put forward in Mr. Combe's "Notes on the United States," in reference to a book written by his brother ; and we think this new example of an old edition, quite imperfect in comparison with several subsequent editions, being re-issued merely because it had been stereotyped and the publishers do not choose to go to the small expense of recasting some passages and reproducing the new matter, furnishes another strong argument in favor of a revision of the laws which regulate and restrain, and too often violate, the rights of foreign authors.

In the present case, however, we happen to have obtained a copy of the edition published in London in 1838. And from that source, as well as from the "*Essai Historique et Politique sur la Revolution Belge*," by Nothomb, never yet translated into English, together with lighter publications on

* *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII., p. 257 *et seq.*

the subject, and with our own recollection of events, we will proceed on our undertaking ; premising, that we are at present mainly stimulated to it by a recent article in an eminent English periodical, reprinted in the United States, which suggests the preposterous project of a reunion between Belgium and Holland ; and by the accounts of a frustrated conspiracy for that object lately detected at Brussels, the chiefs of which, Generals Vandersmissen and Vandermeere, are justly stigmatized in the European prints as men without influence and of damaged reputation.

The whole range of historical research presents nothing so attractive as the early growth of nations, their struggles for independence, and their admission into some vast system of civilization. It is under those circumstances, almost exclusively, that the *romance* of history exists. The energy and the ardor of men, — the two main elements of that quality, — are much more frequently exhibited during the rise of states than in their greatest elevation or decline. Patriotism is oftenest found before public wants are merged in private pursuits, and while the interests of the country are so unsettled as to give to individuals no solid security for their own. As long as the higher objects of the general weal are unattained, few minds are base enough to turn into channels of mere personal advantage. At those periods selfishness has little time for developement. Every one considers himself but as a unit, of no value except as a part of the great whole. It is when the community is formed, and each man begins to find that his particular success has a direct influence on the general welfare, that, enlightened as to his importance but possibly deceived as to his motives, he insensibly begins to work for himself alone ; and, losing the stimulus of public spirit, sinks into an instance of individual ambition, the aggregate of which is sure in the end to peril, and perhaps destroy, the state.

It is thus, before this period of a country's progress, that it is most likely to awaken the sympathies of mankind. The rude virtues of the Grecian republics in their early insignificance, and the bold integrity of infant Rome, have far greater charms for those who pause over the page of history, to analyze its effects, than the epochs of Spartan and Athenian greatness, or imperial dominion, when foreign conquest was disgraced by home corruption, and slavery formed a drag upon the chari-

ots of triumph. The modern annals of the world forcibly strengthen the truth of these remarks, which it is unnecessary to illustrate by any particular instances, as an introduction to a sketch of one of the most remarkable social and political events of our times.

The establishment of a new and independent kingdom, in the very centre of European civilization, and close to the long existing monarchies, is undoubtedly a spectacle of abounding interest. The formation of Belgian nationality and the working of the machinery by which it is sustained, are therefore well worthy of the attention of us, the contemporaries of the great transaction, which involved in its progress the peace of all Europe, and may consequently have a considerable influence, though a remote one, on the interests of the new world as well as of the old.

It was those considerations which excited so many conflicting feelings in the public mind of Europe from the year 1830, when Belgium struck the final blow for independence, down to 1838, when Holland, her inveterate and only enemy, urged a last feeble effort against its consolidation. Had the local affairs of Belgium been alone in question, this general excitement could never have arisen. The world is now too much alive to the real nature of national interests to care much for what does not affect the mass of mankind. The best proof that it is of importance to the world at large to uphold Belgian independence in, at least, its present integrity, is the unceasing anxiety which the question caused during eight years in every other country of Europe.

An almost miraculous combination of causes tended to the accomplishment of this result. Belgium, during several centuries, had been agitated by that occult desire for nationality common to every people, and for the formation of which it contained all the necessary elements. The previous experience of unpropitious efforts showed the way to success through the medium of former faults. A long sequence of subserviency proved the inutility of a reliance on aught but its own exertions. The country to which it last appertained, as a portion of territory, was neither powerful nor politic enough to resist a bold and well-timed movement. The incapacity of the monarch led the way to a junction, for a common purpose of relief, of the two great parties into which

the people were divided. The example of France gave the first impulse to revolt; her protection, a confidence in its progress; while, finally, the state of European peace, and the necessity of its continuance to all the great powers, secured a fair field for the operations of the newly enfranchised country, which demanded, arms in hand, its admission into the scheme of European policy.

The Belgian Revolution of 1830 has been generally considered as an event merely accessory to that of France of the same year. This arises from erroneous views of the nature of the facts involved, and extreme ignorance of the provocations which led to them. Fifteen years of bad government, resting on a vicious title, produced a mass of discontent, which only wanted an opportunity to ripen into revolt. Had it even not burst forth at the time it did, the causes of a revolution were still existing; and the explosion could not have been long delayed. Belgian independence was an inevitable necessity. The destinies of nations must sooner or later be fulfilled, whether it be for greatness or for ruin. Providence often works out its ends by mean instruments and negative means. But, the principle of independence once proclaimed and put into active execution, men were abundantly found, of power sufficient to carry out the consummation of what seemed to common observers an accident, but to deep thinkers a doom. It was thus, that, while the distinctive nationalities of Europe appeared merging into a common fund, so to call it, of general ideas, and respectively sinking or rising to a common level, a new people sprang forth, asserting their claims to constitute a state, on a title of inherent right, long disallowed and despised by European diplomacy.

Four centuries of submission to other powers, and the various characteristics insensibly borrowed from each, had given to the population of Belgium a piebald aspect, which led to a false estimate of its capacities. The Belgians themselves were discouraged with a belief of their own unfitness for independence. But if we consider their persevering pursuit of freedom for many ages, their vigorous struggles against each new foreign domination, and the unswerving firmness of their social organization, we must at once admit the justice of the claim, which they had the sagacity to put forward at the right time, and the courage to enforce by the right means.

The obstacles to Belgian independence were manifold.

It is due to the nation, that we should appreciate the causes which so long retarded it.

The majority of our readers have, we doubt not, a general knowledge of the early history of Belgium ; of its successive junctions with the three great powers, Spain, Germany, and France ; and its more recent annexation to Holland, with which it formed the kingdom of the Netherlands ; as well as of the main causes which led to the dissolution of that kingdom, by the violent catastrophe of 1830. Our present object is to give a faithful sketch of the Revolution of that year, and of the transactions which led to the present independence and prosperity of Belgium ; prefaced by a rapid glance at its previous political struggles, which will serve to refresh the memory of those to whom the subject has not been recently familiar.

After having furnished to France the Mayors of the Palace, who formed the stock of the second dynasty, the Belgian provinces were partitioned out among the successors of Charlemagne ; and Charles the Bald joined Artois and Flanders to his other states. This division was the source of a long series of misfortunes to the country. For the German empire and the French monarchy growing simultaneously into greatness, each took a position on this ground of their bloody and long-continued contests, beginning at Bouvines to end at Waterloo.

Had the fiefs composing the Dutch and Belgian provinces all along derived from the Imperial crown, these countries would have finally been formed into circles of the Empire ; and, from the Germanic origin of the majority of their population, they would have gradually blended with the nationality of Germany, like the electorates in the neighbourhood of the Rhine. But Flanders and Hainault became from the first involved in the plan of French polity ; and the ramifications of feudalism gave, on each new succession, pretensions to the respective vassals of the Empire or of France, to the possession of the numerous territorial fractions into which the country was divided. Thus it was that, under two opposing influences, the Low Countries long remained without cohesion, in spite of all their natural tendency to coalesce.

While the principle of social activity in France was gradually concentrated in the monarchy, it became scattered over the whole surface of Belgium. In this country of communal

privileges as well as of chivalric associations, the noble and the burgher grew side by side into power; without any third estate rising up, superior to, yet dependent on both, to establish and secure that political unity, which is the perfection of social government. Immediately beyond the frontiers were two great rival suzerains; within them princely houses and powerful corporations, but no royalty; — that is to say, two hostile powers without the counterpoise required to form the "compound motion," which in politics as well as in mechanics is necessary to the composition of forces.

The titles of Counts of Flanders, Hainault, Luxembourg, Gueldres, Bouillon, and Namur and Dukes of Brabant and Zealand, glitter through the annals of the Middle Ages. But their rank and fame have been sterile; and their possessions were gradually merged in the sovereignty of the House of Burgundy, which had not, any more than they, the power to become nationalized in its vast possessions, acquired by a combination of inheritance, purchase, conquest, and spoliation.

The warriors of Flanders, superior in wealth and refinement to almost all the other champions of Christianity, bore their ample share in the furious battles of the Crusades, those impulses of fanaticism and means of civilization, — but their native country reaped few of the political advantages which the influence of those events procured to other states, beyond the greater extension of burgher power, from the absence and death of so many of the nobles in the Paynim wars. Godfrey of Bouillon, Engelbert of Tournay, Robert of Flanders, Guy of Namur, have left the impress of their renown through the whole series of these fierce exploits; and many Flemish knights perished in the final struggle of chivalry, at Nicopolis, — the last faint reflection of the glory of the Crusades.

The burgher classes of Flanders and Brabant flourished meanwhile in increasing liberty and wealth. Their workshops supplied the commerce of the world. The Belgian cities raised armies, more numerous and better equipped than those of the contemporary kings. The citizens treated on equal terms with princes; and the reign of the Arteveldes preceded by a century the monarchy of the Medicis. But all this combination of courage, industry, and power failed to produce that national unity, which required, in the then existing state of Europe, a sovereign dynasty, as a centre round which to revolve and gravitate.

The house of Burgundy, in the persons of its last two male representatives, might have realized this desideratum in the fifteenth century ; and, by establishing their dominion from the English Channel and the Northern Ocean, to the borders of the Rhine and the Moselle, might have secured a balance of power in Europe, which would have saved it from the conflicts between Spain and her revolted colonies a century later, and between the houses of Bourbon and of Austria nearly down to our own times. But the selfish ambition of Philip the Good (as history has nicknamed him), and the lust of conquest in Charles the Rash (or "the Bold," as English writers generally mistranslate his *sobriquet*), blinded them to so vast a scheme of real greatness, and left Europe still in want of the basis of repose to be found in such an equilibrium. The facilities, which not only favored but seemed to demand the realization of such a plan previous to the Reformation, have been, no doubt, greatly weakened by its results. But nearly four centuries later, at the fall of Napoleon and the dismemberment of his empire, another opportunity offered and was lost. The next is perhaps advancing, with a steadiness that may make its rapidity less obvious.

The marriage of Mary, daughter of Charles the Rash, with Maximilian, son of the Emperor of Germany, prepared the way for the political annihilation of the Low Countries, by their gradual descent into an appendage of the House of Austria. During the domination of Charles the Fifth and the tyranny of Philip the Second, these countries, reduced to the rank of colonies, were but so many *dépôts* for the production of men and arms, as Peru and Mexico were for that of gold. At once the cause, the theatre, and the victim of the most bloody wars, they sank under the exactions of regal spoliation, at the very time that intellect and civilization were most flourishing.

Philip the Second, the odious type of tyranny, at once terrible and contemptible, gave a vigorous impulse to the spirit of nationality, which so many causes had hitherto repressed. He attempted to establish the Inquisition in the Low Countries, less as a religious tribunal than as an instrument of government. The early resistance to this project was, like it, political. The struggle became religious at a much later period, and only in the north. William of Orange, the greatest of those princes of a house which has produced so many that were great, made the question of religious reform the watch-

word of national resistance, in those provinces, where the former had grown into a passion through the fostering action of the latter; and he thus separated the cause of Holland from that of Belgium. The successful, though tardy issue of the struggle left Holland a free republic, under the guidance of its stadtholders; and secured to Belgium its ancient, but imperfect portion of nationality, as an integral part of the great monarchy of which it still formed a fief. The Spanish troops quitted its soil; its commercial privileges were guaranteed; and the sovereignty was conferred on Albert and Isabella, in a modified form of Spanish power and feudal sway. Their death, without posterity, threw Belgium back under the unmitigated mismanagement of Spain. The benevolent reign of those Archdukes, a title which they bore without distinction of sex, was a truce of happiness between the domestic sufferings of the sixteenth century and the desolating wars of Louis the Fourteenth. But thenceforward Belgium, subjected to the paralyzing action of the Court of Madrid, and thrown into the shade by the vigorous liberty of Holland, sank lower and lower in the scale of nations.

The treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, regulated in many respects the situation of Europe, placing Holland in the foremost rank among the powers, consecrating religious toleration, and proclaiming a Law of Nations, — imperfect, but still acknowledged as the law. But it left the Belgian provinces in complete dependence on the throne of Spain, without fixing those questions of succession, which soon furnished Louis the Fourteenth with pretexts that legalized invasion, and left the country a prize for chance adventurers in the bloody lottery of war.

From the treaty of Munster until that of Vienna, in 1814, the Low Countries were little more than the arena to gladiatorial Europe. The House of Austria which acquired the sovereignty over them from Spain, by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, never considered its new possessions in the light of an inheritance; and, in order to conciliate Holland, permitted her to establish a footing of supremacy in the country, which generated a notion of mastery, that subsequently proved so fatal to her power, when Belgium was joined to her, under the absurd and disproportioned title of "an increase of territory." In 1715, Holland obtained the right of placing garrisons in several of the Belgian fortresses, having previously insured

the commercial ruin of Antwerp, by the closing of the Scheldt.

Ostend alone remained, to keep alive the spirit of enterprise on which the ancient prosperity of Flanders was founded. A company for the furtherance of the East India trade was established in 1722 (to be suspended in two years and never revived) by the Emperor Charles the Sixth, who felt himself too weak, or considered the object as too little understood, to resist the jealousy, the intrigues, and the threats of the maritime powers. Thus the country remained in a state of colonial vassalage, maintaining in turbulent discontent the memory of former days, whose only relics were the municipal privileges, sufficiently powerful to foster a narrow spirit of locality, but ineffectual towards procuring the broad advantages of independence.

For seventy years the Low Countries seemed satisfied to forget the moral rights of nationality in the enjoyment of a physical existence, which was called prosperity. The misfortunes and romantic energy of Maria Theresa and the entire sway she exercised over the provinces, excited a feeling of religious loyalty, which overcame the general repugnance to the Austrian *régime*. But no sooner did the death of the great Empress give her son and successor, Joseph the Second, an opportunity of attempting his well-meant, but illegal and unreasonable reforms, than the old fire of liberty burst forth from the embers in which it had been so long buried. The insurrection of Brabant, in 1788, failed, from a total want of large political views in the leaders, and from the absence of enlightened views of religion in the people whom they made their tools. Its failure threw the country back under the feet of Austrian domination, until republican France, victorious in 1795, broke the chains of one slavery to rivet them more firmly for another. And when, vanquished in her turn, in 1814, she loosed herself from her exhausted conquests, Belgium, among the rest, was thrown loose on the political waters, like a waif, to be picked up and appropriated by the first discoverers.

In the month of December, 1813, Holland had shaken off the imperial yoke of Napoleon. By the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May following, she was promised an increase of territory. In 1815 she entered on the forced partnership with Belgium ; and the experience of the subsequent fifteen years of union proved, that the incompetent monarch, to whom was

confided the task of forming both nations into one, never acted but in the spirit of the fatal flaw in the title which bound them together.

Reverting to four great facts of history with reference to the fate of Belgium, (but without going back so far as her complicated and fractional annexations, at different periods, to the possessions of the House of Burgundy,) it must be borne in mind, that it was *by force* she submitted to the dominion of the four powers to whom during the last two centuries she was joined; to Spain, by the treaty of Munster, 1648; to Austria, by that of Utrecht, 1713; to France, by that of Campo Formio, 1797; to Holland, by that of London, 1814; and that therefore she was not bound in allegiance to any of those powers, by any ties sanctioned by the laws of reason or justice.

No sooner was the decree promulgated, which established the existence of the kingdom of the Netherlands, than a course of misgovernment commenced, which it may be necessary shortly to recapitulate.

The fundamental law, rejected by the majority of the Belgium notables, was forced upon the people.

The nationality of Holland being considered as the basis of the kingdom, every measure was regulated on it, without reference to the wishes, the wants, or the prejudices of Belgium.

The Dutch language was considered as the national and official medium of communication.

The great establishments of the government were fixed in Holland.

The reforms in the civil and criminal law were in accordance with Dutch, not Belgian views.

The system of taxation was accordant with Dutch interests.

Preference was given to the Dutch in the nominations to all civil and military posts.

The laws, and their administration, were stamped with a marked anti-catholic tendency.

Finally, the whole nature of the government was that of the old Stadtholderate *régime*, disguised under monarchical denominations; a power said to be limited, but considering itself irresponsible.

The representative system, which was established in the new kingdom, became an instrument for the imposition of Dutch supremacy. The population of Belgium was, in

round numbers, double that of Holland. The number of representatives was, however, equal; and repeated trials of strength in the Chamber of Deputies gave the following results;

All the laws which pressed heavily on the interests and liberties of Belgium were carried by a Dutch majority.

Every such law, when rejected, was supported by a large number of Dutch members.

All the proposed laws favorable to Belgian interests, which were not carried, failed through Dutch majorities.

All such propositions as passed into laws were opposed by a formidable Dutch majority.

Such were the sources of Belgian grievances; such the difficulties which the government had to surmount. But the grievances themselves were aggravated and increased a thousand fold, by the temptations offered to the government to push them into oppression. Had a ruler of large and enlightened views, seconded by a ministry of practical talent, given his conscientious energy to the amelioration of mischief, the list of evils above enumerated would not have been enough to force a people into revolt, or to justify it in the eyes of the world at large. But, independently of the faults of William, and of Van Maanen and his other instruments of misgovernment, there was in the construction of the new state, one positive evil, which human ingenuity could scarcely have overcome. That evil was the disproportion of population between the two divisions of the kingdom, considering, as they unfortunately did, their interests totally distinct. It was a manifest but an unavoidable injustice to Belgium, to give her but the same number of deputies as were allowed to Holland. Yet, had the representation of Belgium been proportioned to her population, she would assuredly have acquired that supremacy, which she so loudly complained of when exercised by Holland; and the latter would have become, by the force of things, what Belgium had been pronounced to be, by the folly of diplomacy, — "an increase of territory."

The absolute establishment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (so constituted) on a permanent footing of equalized nationality was perhaps impossible. But that such a kingdom might have been constructed, effectual for the intended purpose of the one which fell to pieces, there is no doubt. To raise up a barrier between France and Germany, a real

balance of European power, was the design of the congress of Vienna, in 1814, which had the materials for construction in its hands, but possessed no head sufficiently clear and disinterested to plan and execute the work. Had a great principle of forethought or a freedom from the desire of personal aggrandizement guided the counsels of the allies, the Rhenish provinces had been, without doubt, included with Holland and Belgium in the formation of that barrier kingdom, which, as it was constructed, was but a piece of frail and perishable patchwork. Had such an element as those provinces been added to the imperfect combination, a self-righting action had been certainly superinduced, an internal umpire had existed when difficulties of self-government arose, and a balance of national interests and feelings would have been created, that must have rendered the perpetual collision of petty passions and small jealousies impossible. The advantages of such a wholesale scheme to Europe at large may be hereafter discovered. Suffice it to say here, that such a combination would have turned to the best account the dismemberment of Napoleon's enormous empire, by giving one great and solid pledge to European peace, instead of frittering away so vast a guarantee into three unsettled, discontented fragments.

During fifteen years, the Kingdom of the Netherlands struggled on through a frequently shifting atmosphere of political light and shade. Abandoned in a great measure by the rest of Europe to its own action, scarcely capable of appreciating its own situation, dazzled at times by certain false and forced indications of prosperity, oppressed at others by exaggerated fears of ill, agitated by antagonist interests and passions, it presented the most violent contrasts, and was to foreign observers most difficult of comprehension. King William had acquired a reputation for sagacity and liberality by some acts springing rather from constitutional than from moral causes. His plain manners and domestic habits were joined to an indifference to the pomps of royalty, and he wandered about the streets and wards, a daylight adventurer, without much dignity of bearing, and none at all of purpose. The personal character of William had certainly a considerable influence on the secondary causes which led to the Belgian revolution of 1830. He never forgot his Dutch origin and the Stadtholderate principles of his ancestors. He always considered Holland as his country, and Belgium but as

a part of his possessions. His constant efforts were directed to condense in himself the whole action of the government, to mix himself up in every operation of finance and industry, to check and humiliate the nobility, and to ingratiate himself with the commercial and manufacturing classes by large loans of the public money. By these means he succeeded in forming a body of personal partisans ; while a certain result of this peculiar policy was to alienate the great mass of influential men, who smarted under his system of exclusion, and would not consent to separate the great questions of national good from the selfish speculations of the monarch.

It was in vain that the treaty of London, of July 21st, 1814, stipulated that the amalgamation between Holland and Belgium should be intimate and complete, while the royal artisan to whom the task was intrusted was incapable of performing it.

We shall not here examine the question as to the wisdom of the scheme, nor detail the arguments adduced in proof of its imagined feasibility. The experiment was clumsily tried, and it entirely failed. It is now less a subject of discussion for immediate purposes of state, than matter of history to serve as a warning for time to come. The practicability of such a junction between neighbouring countries, argued on the fate of the kingdom of the Netherlands, must be treated henceforward as an abstract question ; and not with reference to that particular result, as offering grounds for any new attempt in the same quarter. Holland and Belgium are, in all probability, for ever separate. The object of diplomacy should now be to raise a barrier of political distinctions between them, more effectual than a wall of brass. Holland must be satisfied to remain within the narrow limits which her geographical position, the character of her people, her language, manners, and traditions, and recent events point out as her natural extent. Within those boundaries she earned a character of which she may be proud, and maintained an influence to which countries of far greater proportions have rarely reached. Thrown back upon the recollections of her former power, she has a large fund of consolation on which to draw, in reference to late disasters. The faults of her modern career have been forced on her. Her fate for nearly half a century has not been of her own choosing. Dragged, like a slave, in the ovations of Imperial France, not joined as an ally in her march of triumph ; tied forcibly to Belgium in a barren union, not grafted on the stem, to bear a

blooming fruit fed from a common sap ; the nationality of Holland has stood two tests, which have proved it to be without alloy. It has come from the assay unchanged and unchangeable ; and has shown that it is neither formed to receive the impress of a foreign stamp, nor qualified to impart its own.

The case of Belgium is far different. Not isolated, like Holland, by territorial or moral peculiarities ; offering every variety of soil and character ; composed of sundry races, from sources widely distinct ; familiarized with different dialects of the neighbouring nations ; rife with traditions of change ; she presents a versatility which specially adapts her to aid in those combinations of political arrangement which the well-being of Europe may from time to time require. From having hitherto been a passive instrument for secondary purposes, the day may come when she will have a higher place to fill. And her social progress, ever since the period when she conquered a field for the developement of her powers, marks her out for a destiny, which it would be futile at present to predict, and may, by and by, be difficult to circumscribe.

The early resemblances between revolutions are extremely striking. However they may differ in results, in their origin they are generally the same ; sprung in most cases from misgovernment and oppression, a family likeness runs through them all.

Belgium has undergone the ordeal of three revolutions ; and considerable misconception exists as to the real causes of all three. Historians have with common accord ascribed to religious motives, almost exclusively, the outbursts in the sixteenth century against Spain, and in 1789 against Austria ; while the politicians of our own times would willingly attach the same character to that of 1830 against Holland. Religion occupies too large a space in human thoughts and feelings not to enter largely into popular agitations ; but, on the three great occasions in question, religious grievances were by no means the only or the earliest. Points of constitutional freedom violated, from different motives, by three sovereigns of those different epochs, excited the first symptoms of discontent ; and the Belgian clergy possessing great influence in the country naturally took a prominent part in each political movement. But, in every one, the leading motives of revolt were hatred to foreign domination, and attachment to national institutions.

The three revolutions had different results. That of the sixteenth century restored to Belgium its internal liberties, without giving independence to the country. That of 1789, failing from the incapacity of its leaders, threw Belgium, exhausted and demoralized, underneath the feet of France. That of 1830, gave Belgium independence, neutrality, a dynasty of its choice, and an opportunity, never before possessed, for the developement of its great and unsuspected resources, moral and physical.

The French revolution, begun and finished in three days in July, 1830, was unquestionably the proximate cause of that of Belgium, two months later. But the latter was widely different in its outburst and progress, although the provocations of both were similar. No violent *coup d'état* roused the people of Belgium to an abrupt resistance ; nor did a contest of some sixty or seventy hours in a single city suffice to establish their sovereignty on the ruins of the throne. The contest was not confined to the capital but was spread all over the country during a period of some weeks. But it is not merely in these respects that the difference lies. In France the bigot monarch was at once the ally and the tool of a grasping priesthood. In Belgium the Protestant king was in fierce opposition to the patriot clergy. The French people were suddenly forced into rebellion against an old hereditary dynasty, for the vindication of national rights. The Belgians were gradually worked up to revolt against a new-made sovereign, the type and instrument of foreign domination. France had to drive out a family ; Belgium to conquer an army. The first fought a domestic battle for the recovery of its liberties. The latter combated an alien foe, for the deliverance of the soil. In one main point, and one only, those memorable events were strictly alike, — in the total absence of preparation for the conflict, and of expectation that it was at hand.

Remonstrances, petitions, and declamation were the only means of redress attempted in Belgium, until the infatuated confidence of the authorities, acting in the spirit and under the order of the monarch, encouraged the people to proceed in preparations for the insurrection which their rulers seemed to court. Had King William shown the least foresight, had he listened in time to the popular complaints, dismissed his obnoxious minister Van Maanen, abolished a few odious im-

posts, and removed the absurd restriction against the use of the French language in the public pleadings, — all reasonable demands, and all conceded, but invariably too late, — he might have been to this day King of the Netherlands. Belgium was led on, coaxed, as it may be said, from step to step; so that remonstrance, riot, revolt, and revolution followed in a gradual succession, that seemed arranged by the monarch, rather than intended by the people. Every thing renders it likely, that William calculated that his irritated subjects would proceed to excess, and that his foreign allies would then interfere, to uphold him by force, with increased prerogative over a prostrate people.

It is impossible, in the limits of this sketch, to detail the progress of the public discontent, or the various acts by which King William effectually alienated the affections of his subjects. The prosecution of Louis de Potter, for some seditious publications in a Brussels newspaper, was the last immediate measure of irritation previous to the outbreak in Paris. When this great event occurred, the people of all Belgium were quite prepared for an explosion, as soon as the signal should be given.

The Regency of Brussels, (as the city government was called,) as if for the purpose of giving this signal, commanded the representation, at the principal theatre, of the *Muette de Portici*, for the evening of the 25th of August; this opera having been considered from its political bearing so exciting and dangerous, as to have been specially prohibited for several weeks previously. The civil authorities having thus admirably played their part, the people entered upon theirs; and the Dutch military commanders effectively joined, by their incapacity or cowardice, to bring about the *dénouement*.

Without attempting to detail the opening circumstances of the Belgian revolution, it must suffice to say, that the hardihood of the rioters on that memorable night was almost unopposed; and that one movement of ordinary vigor on the part of the authorities would have stopped the tumult, which the next day assumed so grave a character. That second day, the 26th of August, was decisive of the fate of the kingdom of the Netherlands. But its dismemberment was solely due to the wavering and uncandid conduct of the King; for during four ensuing weeks sufficient opportunities occurred to remedy the successive evils so rapidly accumulated.

On the morning last mentioned the affrighted Regency made some show of authority. They issued a proclamation, promising certain measures of political redress; and they sanctioned the formation of a burgher guard, to whom arms were freely issued, and for whom a chief was found, in the person of Baron Vanderlinden d'Hoogvorst, an amiable, benevolent, incapable person, who consequently stood well with all classes, being neither feared nor envied by any.

The revolution had now made its second step. Power had passed from the hands of the populace into those of the people. The burgher guard rapidly increased in numbers and soon began to exercise the authority now vested wholly in it. Baron d'Hoogvorst called a meeting of the notables of of the city, to take into consideration the perilous state of affairs. A deputation was ordered to proceed to the Hague with an address to the King; and a council was elected for the staff of the burgher guard, in whom the whole executive authority was vested.

The deputation from the notables was received by the King. Professions of loyalty on the one side and of confidence on the other were bandied between them. A royal ordinance summoned the States-General to assemble on the 13th of the ensuing month. While the King was thus deceiving the deputation with fair words, military preparations were making, on a grand scale, to overawe Brussels if possible, and at any rate to force it into submission.

On the 29th of August, the Prince of Orange, charged by the King with a temporizing mission, and his brother Prince Frederick, intrusted with the command of the troops, arrived at Antwerp; and on the following day their head-quarters were established at Vilvorde within five miles of Brussels. By this time, the excitement within the capital had reached a very high pitch, influenced by the Jesuitical answers of the King to the various deputations which had been sent to him from Liege and other places, the concentration of an army close to the walls, the insulting tone of the Dutch journals, and the vague and suspicious wording of the proclamation issued by the princes from Antwerp on the morning of the 30th.

Several interviews took place at Vilvorde during that and the following day between the Princes and Baron d'Hoogvorst, the Prince de Ligne, and other representatives of the

citizens of Brussels. After some animated discussions, the Prince of Orange, yielding to the entreaties of the deputation, pledged his word, that he would enter Brussels the following day, attended solely by three or four officers of his staff, Prince Frederick engaging to remain at Vilvorde with the troops.

The following morning, September 1st, at daybreak, a proclamation of the Regency announced the news to the people, and a number of the burgher guard was required at ten o'clock, to meet the Prince and escort him into the city. Before eleven not less than eight thousand men were assembled on their parade ground in the *Grande Place*, in their respective divisions, and under the standard of Brabant. A finer body of volunteers was never perhaps collected in arms, even in the palmy days of Flemish freedom, when struggles not dissimilar to the present were so common between the burghers of the various cities and their feudal chiefs. Nor did the old and picturesque towers of the town hall, and the Gothic structures which surround it, ever witness a more stirring display than this rival exhibition of the many grand historical scenes which had been acted there.

But this day is more particularly memorable as forming an epoch of individual heroism almost without parallel, which proved that though the days of chivalry are gone their spirit still exists. To understand the extent to which that quality was displayed by the Prince of Orange on this occasion, it must be borne in mind, that, independently of the odium he shared in common with his father, as a Dutchman and a Nassau, he was also the brother-in-law of the autocrat of Russia, and thus identified with the system of foreign influence, to shake off which those armed thousands stood in serried ranks; and that he was at that moment laboring under a load of personal calumny, of the most base and brutal kind, propagated by the Belgian press. In defiance of all this, he now came forward from the ranks of his devoted army, to throw himself alone among a host of armed and inveterate enemies, in fulfilment of his promise, and under the sole guarantee of his innocence and courage.

Every arrangement of the day was made for the purpose of appalling as well as humiliating him. A treble line of bayonets bristled along the streets. Barricades were left standing to embarrass his path. A band of savage-looking men, bare-

armed, and carrying knives, pikes, and hatchets, headed the column which received him beyond the gates ; and strict orders were given, and frequently repeated as he came on, for the observance of a stern look and total silence throughout the whole array.

The manner in which the gallant prince conducted himself through this trying scene, the unfeeling reception given to him, and the perils he encountered on that day, will no doubt find a prominent place in the history of the times, and form an episode of no small interest in it.

Repeated conferences, between the Prince and the members of a committee chosen by him from among the principal persons then in Brussels, consumed two days and nights. After much discussion on the best means for conciliating the government at the Hague and the people of Belgium, it was decided, that the Prince should remove from Brussels with the whole of the regular garrison, leaving the entire control of the place in the hands of the citizens. At the moment of his departure with the troops there was a confident hope that the King, yielding to his representation of the true state of things, would have consented to a prompt and effectual legislative separation between Holland and Belgium ; but not a notion was put forward, nor, as we believe, conceived, of the total independence of Belgium under any form of government whatever.

To the Prince's further honor it must be mentioned, that during these two days he was repeatedly urged to place himself at the head of the movement as his father's self-named Viceroy, and thus identify himself with the cause of Belgium. This he at once declined, as inconsistent with his duty both as a son and a subject. He saw the necessity for a separation ; and, had his advice been followed, the monarchy had certainly been saved, and the Nassaus had still ruled in Belgium. But such a measure was never contemplated by the King. He indeed pretended to take it into consideration ; but, in flagrant violation of justice and humanity, he sent a powerful army to attack Brussels, even while the States-General were debating on the wisdom or impolicy of the measure of separation, which the expected success of that attack was intended to set completely at rest.

The mission of the Prince of Orange only raised against him a spirit of odious virulence in the Dutch people. More

desirous even than the Belgians for the separation required by the latter, they could not tolerate him who admitted the justice of the claim, although he had risked his life and compromised his dignity for conciliation's sake. They would have been well pleased that a separation from Belgium should have been of their own prompting. But to *concede* it was gall and wormwood to their pride ; and they consequently called loudly for the suppression of the revolt, before the legislature might entertain proposals of which the Prince was the bearer and the conscientious advocate.

In the mean time, the chief towns of Belgium were successively following the example of the capital, by loudly demanding a legislative separation between the northern and southern divisions of the kingdom of the Netherlands. Some tumultuous proceedings took place ; and, as was to be expected, the exasperation caused by the King's policy, forced the people into strong measures, for the furtherance of what had now become the general desire. Political clubs were formed; the language of the newspapers became more violent ; and a "Committee of Safety" was decided on, a moderate title for the executive, which left every thing open for the resumption of authority by a legally constituted government.

The Committee of Public Safety was specially charged with three main objects ;

First ; with the care of preserving the rights of the dynasty.

Secondly ; with obtaining the separation by legal means.

Thirdly ; with protecting the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country.

For a fortnight after the departure of the Prince of Orange this committee fulfilled the conditions of their nomination. Their greatest difficulties consisted in finding employment for the poor, and in counteracting the violent conduct of the revolutionary clubs, by whom they were daily menaced and denounced. The committee consisted of eight persons. Four of them were noblemen, of no talent, whose names had been inserted merely to give the appearance of aristocratical sympathy with the four plebeians who were the active members. These latter were Messrs. Gendebien, Meéus, Rouppe, and Vandeweyer. The first was hasty and rash ; the second and third were timid and temporizing ; the fourth was cautious and cunning. Elements of character such as these, could form no combination fit to cope with the vigorous

energy of such daring spirits as Charles Rogier, Feigneaux, Niellon, and Van Halen, the leading men of the clubs. The confidence of the people was soon given to those strenuous haters of Dutch connexion in every shape; and the Committee of Public Safety, yielding to the uncontrollable influence that pressed on them, only wished to be driven from the post which they had not sufficient courage to maintain or resign.

It now became clear, that the King had no intention of acceding to the proposed separation, which he talked of in his opening speech to the States-General at the Hague, on the 13th of September, but which he carefully abstained from recommending, and towards the consideration of which, for several days following, they made no progress.

It cannot be too forcibly impressed on those who would rightly understand the question, that, up to the very last moment of apparent security on the part of the King, the Belgian people were anxious to effect the separation on amicable and equitable terms. And it must also be observed, that this proposed separation was not a mere revolutionary crotchet, or a fanciful remedy for the existing evils. It might have been effected without any violation of the treaties of 1815, at that time forming the public law of Europe, and without the least attaint to the privileges of nations or individuals. It would have been a certain security against any wish on the part of Belgium for a reannexation to France, by founding a distinct nationality; and it would have conciliated all the great powers, while it healed the discontent existing between the two divisions of the kingdom of the Netherlands.

It must be admitted, to account for, but by no means to justify, the policy of the King and his Government, that they were in a state of most culpable ignorance of the real nature of public feeling in Belgium. The great bugbear which frightened them from their political propriety was the fear of republicanism in France, and of its spread in Belgium. This delusion was combated by a few disinterested observers; but their reasoning was not listened to, when they pointed out the necessity for promptitude in the legislative proceedings, and an abstinence from all hostile measures.

Events now hurried on. Brussels was invested by an army of 14,000 men. The people, roused to desperation, and led on by Feigneaux and other clubbists, on the night of the 20th of September, forced the doors of the town hall, seized on a

dépôt of arms which was placed there for greater security, and drove out the incompetent committee, who, abandoning the care of the public safety, now only sought their own. They fled the country, and left the people to their fate,— even Gendebien, the only one of the members from whom more resolution was expected ; Baron D'Hoogvorst being the only one who remained, but in close concealment until the fearful events of the ensuing days had passed by.

The whole power now devolved, as if in the regular succession of revolutionary inheritance, to the people and their immediate chiefs. Yet it cannot be truly said that anarchy at any time reigned in Brussels. No act of spoliation or violence took place even during the last three days, from the 20th to the 23d of September, during which the very rabble formed the government, and the pike and bayonet were the law. All the degrading impulses of mob ferocity were suppressed ; and every feeling was concentrated in the one absorbing object of a desperate defence.

At length the agony of expectation was set at rest by the fiercer excitement of actual combat. On the morning of the 24th, the attack on the city was made at three several points ; and, to the great astonishment of Prince Frederick and his troops, they found on all a determined resistance, instead of the easy triumph on which they had reckoned.

We must resist the temptation of recording here the details of the four days in which the people of Brussels so gallantly fought and conquered. A crowd of recollections cautions us to altogether avoid an attempt to select from among the various events even a few of the most striking ; for our limits do not admit of sufficient examples being given of those heroic incidents, without doing injustice to the actors in the many which deserve mention.

A few *names* must, however, be specified among those who particularly distinguished themselves. At the head of these must be placed that of Charles Rogier, who gave to the country the first impulse of armed resistance ; who had been foremost in leading his detachment of the men of Liege to the attack on the Dutch at Diegham, the day before the assault of Brussels took place ; and who had, as soon as resistance was actually offered to that assault, boldly taken upon himself, in company with M. Jolly, a retired officer of engineers, the responsibility of a government, and the

organization of the desultory and scattered elements, which ended in so complete a triumph. Next came Van Halen, the commander-in-chief, appointed by Rogier and Jolly; Niellon, Mellinet, Kessels, Vandermeere, Borremans, Grégoire; Baron Felner, killed on the field of battle; and a host of others equally brave, and more or less celebrated.

The news of the heroic defence of Brussels was borne across the frontiers in every direction, and, while it created in Holland consternation and rage, it caused unbounded joy in France. Several of the runaway members of the Committee of Public Safety were assembled at Valenciennes, where they had been joined by M. Louis de Potter, one of the early causes and victims of government severity, who had hurried from Paris, and now waited with Vandeweyer and some others, not to mix in the *mêlée* and take chance with the country they had roused to resistance, but to "await the triumph and partake the gale." The first of those who repassed the frontiers was Gendebien, a man of energy and nerve, notwithstanding his recent flight, led away by the bad example of his colleagues. The others followed; and the generous people of Brussels, drowning resentment and reproach in the shouts of victory, and feeling the urgent necessity of union, consented to the nomination of D'Hoogvorst, Gendebien, and Vandeweyer, as joint members of the Provisional Government, with Charles Rogier and Jolly, to whose intrepid firmness the preservation of order had been entirely owing. To maintain a show of aristocratic support the name of Count Felix de Merode was added; but he did not reappear from his hiding-place for some days after the expulsion of the Dutch.

Thousands upon thousands crowded into Brussels as soon as the attacking army had fairly retreated, to view the different places of combat, to gaze on the shattered buildings, the torn up and lacerated trees, the smoking ruins, the barricades and batteries; and above all to see the heroic defenders, some living and unhurt, the wounded stretched on their pallets in the hospitals and churches; and, finally, the glorious dead carried to their last common resting-place. It was altogether a combination exciting and affecting in no ordinary degree; and one never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it.

But the victors did not suffer themselves to be, in their turn, overcome by the delirium of triumph. They organized themselves under chosen leaders, and pushed on to new

combats and successes. They pursued the retreating enemy, hung on and harassed them, and had several severe though irregular actions with them, up to the walls of Antwerp, to which sanctuary Prince Frederick had conducted his discomfited troops.

The Provisional Government promptly proceeded to dispose of and secure the important interests confided to their care. And their first act, in compliance with the popular will, was to add De Potter's name to their number, and to recall him from a now nominal banishment to a sure ovation. But his worst enemy could not have done him a worse service. Happy had it been for him that he had remained an exile and a martyr. No stronger example was ever afforded of that fatality which places men on the highest pinnacle of their ambition, merely to dash them down to a surer destruction. De Potter now hastened across the frontier he had so lately shrunk from passing ; and from the hour he touched the soil of Belgium he was borne forward to Brussels on the tide of popular enthusiasm. The members of the Provisional Government hailed his coming with pretended sympathy, but with serious misgivings. They knew his vast ambition ; — they saw his unlimited influence. But they had yet to learn that he, who, for the best years of his life had labored to bring about a crisis like that, was, at the moment of its realization, impotent to turn it to account.

Van Halen, a man of a different stamp, was another most prominent person at that period. De Potter saw a dangerous rival in the gallant Spaniard, who had rendered such good service to his adopted country ; and he had sufficient cunning to propagate suspicions against him in the public mind, which forced him to resign his command, and leave to others to follow up his victory.

The effect produced throughout the Belgian provinces by the events of Brussels was instantaneous and general. In a few days all the fortresses, with the exception of Antwerp, Maestricht, and Venloo, surrendered to the commanders named by the Provisional Government, which had by the 10th of October entirely supplanted the authority of the King.

The defence of Brussels had decided the States-Generl to consent to the legislative separation, so long demanded by Belgium, but now forgotten, in the broad prospect of abso-

lute independence which opened out before the nation's view. The King, seeing the state of the public mind, tried a new course of policy. He despatched the prince of Orange once more to Belgium ; and Antwerp was chosen as the strong-hold, whence he might, with most effect, send forth his emissaries or issue his addresses to the now formidable rebels, in the hope of persuading them into submission. The Prince, sanguine and confiding, readily undertook to attempt this impracticable scheme. But there was no good faith in his father who sent him, nor any sincerity in the council of Belgians who were appointed to act with him ; and no chance of coöperation on the part of the millions who identified him with all the violence and hypocrisy of his brother and his father. After some weeks of humiliating failure, deceived, abandoned, and exposed to all the bitterness of regret, he quitted Antwerp, on the night of the 25th of October, in a steamboat for Rotterdam, lighted by the flames from the burning houses, set fire to by the Dutch troops in their retreat from the pursuing Belgians. He now returned to Holland for the second time during six weeks, as pure as any public man who ever went through ordeals so severe and so unfortunate.

The Prince's departure from Antwerp immediately led to a state of total anarchy. On the 27th, matters came to a fearful crisis. The populace, having risen in arms on the previous day, at length obtained possession of two of the gates of the town and opened them to the patriot forces. These, flushed with success, easily drove the scattered detachments of the royal troops into the citadel. A truce, hastily concluded, was quickly violated by some desultory acts of warfare between the vedettes on either side ; upon which General Chassé, the Dutch commander, commenced a bombardment of the defenceless city, assisted by the artillery of the Dutch flotilla, moored in the river Scheldt before the quay, and bringing to bear a combination of nearly one hundred pieces of cannon.

This was unquestionably one of the most important events of the Revolution. Had the Belgian volunteers not been checked in their triumphant career, they would certainly have crossed the frontiers and have overrun Holland altogether. But although the revolution was by this catastrophe paralyzed in its most important extremities, the vital principle of national

independence was untouched. And it was perhaps favorable for its preservation, that the inflated valor of the people, from which it apprehended its greatest risks, should have met this great, but not the most serious, check.

In the mean while, the Prince of Orange had returned to the Hague, under circumstances the most mortifying, unthought of amidst the rejoicing which the vindictive people indulged in, in honor of their avenger Chassé ; and the heir to the throne took possession, almost by stealth, of the homely residence, that presented so humiliating a contrast to the splendid palace, which, by no fault of his, he had for ever lost at Brussels.

The stirring interest of the Belgian revolution expired amidst the embers of the conflagration of Antwerp. The social and political disruption was complete. Violence and the force of arms had done their work. To reorganize the materials of this moral chaos was the business of diplomacy ; and under its tutelage the destinies of the country immediately passed.

Belgium having thrown off the yoke of Holland, had now to decide between two alternatives ; a republic, leading to a junction with France and a general war ; or a monarchy, independence, and negotiation. The latter of these was chosen ; and from the moment her decision was known, she became identified with the interests of Europe, as she had been already admitted to its sympathies.

The first great object of the Provisional Government was to put the country in harmony with the great powers ; and then to proceed to the arrangement of several serious topics of domestic importance. Missions were despatched to Paris and London ; but a great want of competent persons was evident from the first. The lucky accident of an acquaintance with the English language was allowed to stand in the stead of higher qualifications in the individuals chosen for the latter place. But the dearth of talent, and the lack of station, in the plebeian agitators, thrown to the surface by the late commotions, were, for a long time, serious obstacles to their success.

On the 10th of November, the National Congress, which had been summoned some weeks previously, began its sittings ; and its business commenced by an address from De Potter, who represented the Provisional Government. On the 18th,

the Congress unanimously proclaimed the independence of Belgium. On the 22d, it decreed, by a majority of one hundred and seventy-four votes against thirteen, that the form of the government should be monarchical. Other important measures were passed within a few months of busy and turbulent discussion. The perpetual exclusion of the Nassaus, the adoption of the Constitution, and the election of a sovereign, were the other great questions on which the fate of the country hinged ; and they were all debated, and decided in accordance with the convictions of Europe at large.

On the 4th of November the Conference of London, composed of representatives of the five Great Powers, commenced their long series of protocols, which began by pronouncing the existence of an armistice between Holland and Belgium, and assigning the same boundaries to the two States as existed before the union ; that is to say, before the treaty of Paris of May 30th, 1814. By a protocol of December 20th, 1830, the Conference pronounced the dissolution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Several circumstances occurred in rapid succession, and of almost miraculous coincidence, in favor of the new State, still struggling on to independence. First, was the singular want of sense, spirit, and of common powers of calculation, which hurled De Potter from his eminence to the meanest level, political and personal ; until, within a few weeks from his triumphal entry into Brussels, he was driven from its gates, reviled and unpitied, an outcast too happy to escape with his life.

Secondly, was the unlooked-for forbearance of Louis Philippe, (no matter from what source it sprang,) making him repress the national longing of all France to seize on Belgium, as a recovered portion of its territory.

Thirdly, the breaking out of the Polish revolution, November 29th, 1830, turning the attention, and calling for the whole force, of the Russian despot to internal affairs, and paralyzing all his plans for offensive operations against France, and for a restoration in Belgium.

Fortuitous circumstances of minor moment might be adduced, all tending towards the same great end. Altogether, the good genius of Belgium triumphed over a thousand obstacles, raised up by domestic faction, Dutch intrigue, and foreign jealousies ; and the crowning measure, the election of

Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg to be King, completed the series of events which marked Belgium as the only perfect political result of the revolutions of 1830, and led to her becoming a model for the monarchical states of Europe.

With this result before us, it is unnecessary to dwell on the minute details of seventy protocols, issued by the Conference of London, in reference to the Dutch and Belgic question. The multifarious state papers relative to this remarkable affair have been collected and printed. Their examination may be useful for the student of diplomatic anatomy; and they certainly form a monument of statesmanlike forbearance and forethought.

The question of the choice of a king offered a most curious spectacle to the world at large, and its progress abounded in important lessons to both monarchs and people. From the various persons named by the public voice or actually put upon the list as candidates in the first instance, the most remarkable were the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the eldest son of Eugene Beauharnais, and the Duke of Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe, King of the French. Of these rivals it may be stated, that the choice of the first would have been anti-French, without being European; that of the latter exclusively French, but anti-European. Louis Philippe and the Conference of London declared against both; and while the election was nevertheless proceeding at Brussels, the Prince of Orange was proclaimed at Ghent, in an unsuccessful attempt for his succession, by Colonel Ernest Grégoire, one of the defenders of the Brussels barricades against the Dutch attack.

From that period the necessity became evident of finding some individual to fill the vacant throne, who would unite in himself the confidence of all the European powers, without being a mark for the jealousy of any. To occupy the interregnum by a neutral measure of preparation, M. Surlet de Chokier, a respectable Belgian gentleman, was named Regent on the 24th of February, 1831. The national congress, having adjourned on the 6th of March, assembled on the 29th of the same month, separated once more on the 12th of April, and did not meet again till the 18th of May. During these intervals they completed the work of the revolution in the spirit of European policy; and they consummated the most important of its acts, (for a false step then had irretrievably

ruined the country,) by making a formal offer of the throne to Prince Leopold.

The conferences between the Prince and the commissioners deputed by the congress to wait on him in London afforded many proofs of his good sense and good feeling. He came forward at their solicitation, backed by the entreaties of the principal powers of Europe ; and he accepted the great, but most troublesome, trust they reposed in him, from an exalted regard for the public good. The only conditions for which he stipulated were such as related to the well-being of the country he was chosen to rule over. He left London on the 16th of July, 1831, and made his entry into Brussels on the 21st, when he was at once inaugurated, with all due solemnity ; the national congress being, by this act, dissolved.

Scarcely was Leopold seated on his uneasy throne, when the King of Holland, true to his treacherous character, sent forward his son, the Prince of Orange, — unfortunately, on this as on former occasions, too subservient to his father's will, — to invade Belgium, at the head of an army of fifty thousand men and seventy pieces of cannon, in defiance of the existing armistice, and while the Dutch plenipotentiaries at the Conference of London were giving written assurances of the King's ardent desire to conclude a definitive treaty of peace !

After a campaign of ten days, in which a scrambling action, called by courtesy the *battle* of Louvain, was fought, having put to complete rout the undisciplined volunteers of Belgium, the Prince of Orange retreated to Holland to reap the honors of his poor triumph. The appearance of the French army, which Leopold called to his assistance, was the cause of this retrograde movement. The rival commanders had good opportunities afforded them for proving once more their personal courage ; the Prince of Orange having a horse killed under him, and one of King Leopold's aides-de-camp being wounded by his side, in the thickest of the fight.

This battle of Louvain, like the bombardment of Antwerp by General Chassé, had a highly salutary effect on the character of the Belgian nation. Had it not been for these checks to their overweening pride, which may be fairly pardoned in consideration of their great successes, Leopold would have found it perhaps impossible to govern the country with the ease he has done for the last ten years. The influ-

ence of his firm, yet forbearing, temperament has been immense on a people at once so susceptible and so reflective. The wisdom of his administration has produced the happiest effects; shown forth in the rapid return to tranquillity and order; in commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing enterprise; and in the establishment of a solid, and, to all appearances, a lasting, system of prosperity.

The series of harassing difficulties, known to diplomacy by the technical title of "the Dutch and Belgic question," lasted long after the election of Leopold; fomented by the sordid obstinacy of King William, but resolutely combated by France and England, to whom the other Great Powers, — Russia, Prussia, and Austria, — gave a cold, and often a forced, coöperation. The laborious efforts of the statesmen and diplomatists of the two former countries were incessant, and successful beyond hope, in saving Europe from a general war. Among the most distinguished in carrying out those intricate negotiations, was the British Ambassador at the Hague, Sir Charles Bagot, who had previously filled the post of English Minister at Washington, and whose appointment to be Governor-general of Canada has been recently announced. And it may be here observed, in passing, that few individuals could be better adapted for the task of consolidating the union of the two provinces, from his experience of the junction between Holland and Belgium, a case so marvellously analogous to the great experiment over which he has been chosen to preside. The similarity of the two cases is as nearly as possible complete, — difference of races, language, and religion; disproportion of population, with equality of representation; far greater amount of public debt of the less populous division of the country, converted into a general liability to be shared by the other; — and many minor resemblances, most striking to any one familiar with the formation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. And, to finish the picture, the proximity of a powerful nation is not wanting, with certain unequivocal yearnings for the possession of those adjoining provinces, which it requires no small exertion of domestic wisdom to repress. Every one of the errors committed by King William and of the evils they brought forth, during his short and troubled reign, must be fresh in the memory of Sir Charles Bagot. No individual was more prominent than he, in endeavours to prevent the former and to mitigate the latter. He has learned a lesson, the value of

which may be now turned to practical account. And it is matter of satisfaction to every good citizen of the United States, that this critical trust has fallen into the hands of one, who is represented by those who know him best, to be honorable, able, and conciliatory; combining qualities of head and heart which fit him to be not only a good governor, but, what is full as important in the present aspect of affairs, a good neighbour.

This digression has awakened reflections that come more home to us, — and may perhaps do so to our readers, — than even those arising from our coming intercourse with the kingdom of Belgium. We are therefore more disposed to bring the latter subject to a close at present, than to dwell on many of the topics it suggests, and which may at some future time be brought forward.

There is no doubt that from this growing connexion much reciprocal advantage may be drawn. The business transactions of the two countries have been recently facilitated by the conclusion of a treaty of commerce, long wished for by both, and the abortive efforts to effect which some years back must be fresh in the public mind.* But points of *material* interest (to use a French phrase) apart, many valuable sources of improvement will be opened by a free interchange of personal communications, by mutual observation of character and manners, and by a wider spread of information as to the great public transactions of our own times as well as of the past. If America furnished in the last century the most glorious of revolutionary examples to the Old World, the nations of Europe have, in the present one, given noble proofs that the example was not lost on them. Though France was checked in her career of freedom, and Naples crushed; though Poland may have perished, and though Spain be still convulsed in the throes of her long agony, — Belgium is flourishing in full success. Her triumphs afford many consolations to the less fortunate strugglers against kingly and aristocratical misrule. She has shown, that it is in the heart of *the people* that the lifeblood of freedom circulates; that its strength is in their sinews; and that their arms must work it out. She has shown, also, that splendid talents are not necessary to trace the march of liberty. Their too often delusive glare need not shine on her self-lighted path. Plain, prompt, and en-

* Since these remarks went to the press, the public learns that unexpected obstacles have arisen to the execution of this treaty. We trust they are to prove only temporary.

ergetic men, ready to take advantage of the circumstances they may not have the genius to create, are all-sufficient to effect immense reforms. Not an individual of more than ordinary intellect was brought into notice by the Belgian revolution. De Potter, its original author, was a presumptuous failure ; De Chokier, the Regent, an amiable nullity. Lebeau, his prime minister, Tielmans, Vandeweyer, and others of successive administrations, were all obscure lawyers ; which, on the continent of Europe, is a position of a very low grade ; and they were, moreover,(a circumstance which, with us at least, does not detract from their merit,) of birth and connexions still more lowly. The first-mentioned was a bookseller in Liege, the second, the son of a Brussels baker, the last a partner in a printing-office, whose parents kept a boarding-house at Louvain ; and none of them had an opportunity of learning aught of the intricate game of government. But it was in the choice of ministers to the foreign courts that the Belgian executive was most embarrassed. It must be remembered, that their *chargés* and secretaries were not, like the citizens of the United States, bred up in the bold confidence of an equality with the lordly legislators and statesmen of Europe. The cringing subserviency to rank, so disgracefully common there even in men of learning and talent, gave the undrilled ambassadors of the new state no fair chance when they came to cope with the old and experienced aristocrats of the Conference of London. But in the total absence of the necessary qualifications among those of the Belgian *noblesse* who joined in the revolution, the middle classes assumed the station which the other had heretofore monopolized ; and by shifts and expedients they made head, as best they might, against the titled influences which they strove to manage without being able to control.

But the election of King Leopold at once put an end to this state of things. As soon as he assumed the reins of government, the affairs of Belgium recovered a stability that the rest of Europe looked at with amazement. Nothing ever appeared so strange as the quiet subsiding of those turbid elements, which had threatened anarchy within and a general war without. Yet history might have prepared the world for this result. The influence of an elected ruler is prodigious over the great majority of a revolutionized nation ; for most men who have achieved their independence like to take their tone from the leader of their choice, and to pay a compliment in his person to their own sagacity.

In the case of Leopold, this feeling, combined with considerations of practical good sense, worked like magic; and the great contracting parties, who had implored him to accept the sovereignty, looked on delighted at the result. The new monarch, having, in the short campaign which ended in "the disaster of Louvain," as it is generally termed by Belgian writers, proved himself to be brave, active, and self-possessed, had now to give evidence that he carried the same qualities into the cabinet from the camp, and that he was as well fitted for civil government as for military command. Discarding all considerations founded on false precedent or bad example, he would not allow any one of his ministers to assume the title of Premier, or President of the Council, the nominal possession of which, in France, has been such a prolific source of difficulty to Louis Philippe. Leopold, realizing the hope of Lafayette with reference to France, being a constitutional king, surrounded with republican institutions, openly and fearlessly presides at his own Council; and it is notorious, that every one of the great and successful measures of his government has been his own work. Ministers have been guided by his sagacity; ambassadors wholly directed by his instructions; financial, military, and commercial undertakings all pointed out or deeply examined into by him. The establishment of the Belgian railroad system, the wonder and envy of all continental Europe, was his work, assisted by the intelligence of Charles Rogier and Nothomb, the two men of most talent which the revolution has produced.

The courts of England and France, in whose hands the interests of Belgium had found protection and safety during the crisis we have described, and those of Prussia and Austria, who had been driven by the tergiversations of King William to abandon him to his fate, all sent their diplomatic representatives to Brussels; and Leopold had to choose among the motley ranks of his supporters for agents to fill the several legations established in those friendly countries. This was one of the most embarrassing of his duties. And he would have found it hard to select persons at all suitable, had he not been confident of his own powers of application to all state necessities. But sure of himself, he was able to depend on them; and to each he gave his instructions, following them up with unceasing industry for a series of years, until Holland, in 1839, and Russia, her only supporter, were

forced by dint of his perseverance and good management to abandon, step by step, every position behind which they were entrenched ; and these wearisome negotiations were finally closed by the treaty of peace between Holland and Belgium, and both countries left free to pursue a career of recovered prosperity. The great obstacle to Dutch repose and confidence was the King, whose financial operations were driving the country headlong to ruin. But his abdication, some months back, gave the gallant Prince of Orange an earlier accession to the throne, than "the course of nature" promised him ; and his generous sacrifices for his country have found their reward, by his being placed at its head before a too advanced age had weakened his powers of government. He and his former rival, Leopold, are now running their parallel careers of kingcraft ; and (if left by the other monarchs to the unobstructed exercise of their really fine qualities) with every chance of making their respective portions of the *quondam* Kingdom of the Netherlands contented with themselves and with each other.

Art. VI.—*A Classical Dictionary. Containing an Account of the principal Proper Names mentioned in Ancient Authors, and intended to elucidate all the important Points connected with the Geography, History, Biography, Mythology, and Fine Arts of the Greeks and Romans. Together with an Account of Coins, Weights, and Measures, with Tabular Values of the same.* By Charles Anthon, LL. D., Jay Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, New York, and Rector of the Grammar School. New York : Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. viii. and 1423.

It is no easy thing to strike the right medium in the preparation of such a book as a classical dictionary. The claims of the schoolboy, just beginning his acquaintance with the historical and mythological personages of antiquity, demand attention first. Next comes the college student, with his more enlarged views and wider information. Lastly, the educated

man, who, amidst professional cares, loves to turn, from time to time, to the ancient fountains,

> —— "Integros accedere fontes
> Atque haurire,"

to refresh his jaded mind by calling up the classical associations of his youth, needs a work, that shall help him to revive the faded impressions of early studies, by giving, in a clear and condensed form, information about persons and things and places, that figure in his favorite authors. A work that shall meet and answer all these demands, must be the result of the varied researches of many minds. The number of topics which must necessarily be treated in it, and their frequent difficulty; the doubts that hang over them, and the contradictory opinions of scholars and critics, make the task of preparing a well-proportioned work of this kind, the labor of a life. It requires a most minute acquaintance with the great works of antiquity, the history of the classic ages, the institutions of ancient nations, their mythology, manners and customs, their philosophy and legislation, and the successive changes that all these underwent, from age to age. It requires, also an extensive and profound knowledge of the researches of modern scholars, a keen discrimination between the useful and the useless, in the immense mass of materials which their learned labors have accumulated; and, to crown the whole, it requires a mind at once comprehensive and exact, and an industry which patiently submits to long and wearisome investigation for the purpose of establishing, on the best testimony, the probability or certainty of facts, and of selecting from conflicting statements those which are consistent with common sense, harmonious with each other, and in keeping with the admitted facts of analogous cases.

We do not know a work in any language, that quite fulfils all these conditions. Much has been done on single subjects, both in separate treatises and in contributions to the periodical literature of the last half-century, but no man has been yet found to unite these scattered fragments into an exact, comprehensive, and satisfactory whole. By far the best attempt within our knowledge is Dr. S. F. W. Hoffmann's *Alterthumswissenschaft*, published at Leipsic. This is a work of very uncommon merit. The amount and variety of information which the able and learned author has brought together, upon every part of the science of antiquity, and the admirable

manner in which this is digested and arranged, make the work incomparably the best of its kind that has yet appeared. But, as it extends to many subjects that are not usually embraced within the range of a classical dictionary, the author is obliged to condense greatly those subjects that are. This book is greatly superior to the "Manual" of Eschenburg, of which Professor Fisk, of Amherst, furnished, a few years since, an excellent translation. Eschenburg's work has been superseded by later inquiries of the eminent scholars of Germany. It is in several points exceedingly defective, though many of its defects have been ably supplied by the American translator and editor. After all, we should perhaps prefer a work on the plan of Eschenburg and Hoffmann, to one on the more limited scheme of the English Dictionary. The introductory parts of Hoffmann's work on the *Ground Sciences* (Grund-wissenschaften), Grammar, Hermeneutics or Interpretation, Criticism; and on the *Real Sciences* (Real-wissenschaften), Ancient Geography, Chronology, Political History, Antiquities, Mythology, Literary History, and Archæology, contain the most thorough, systematic, condensed, and elaborate exhibitions of those subjects with which we are acquainted. They are of inestimable value to the classical scholar.

We do not see any reason for separating a classical dictionary from a dictionary of antiquities,— literary history from the history of ancient art. The classical student needs the one as well as the other, in the course of his inquiries. It is true, that a dictionary of persons and places, arranged in alphabetical order, has some advantage in the superior convenience of consultation, when information on a single person or place only is sought for: but manuals systematically arranged, like those of Eschenburg and Hoffmann, present their subjects grouped in a more natural connexion, and furnish the information required in a more complete and interesting form. The English classical dictionaries require another of antiquities; and this other has not, until very recently, been forthcoming. An excellent work of this description, under the title of "A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," is now publishing in London. The compilers use freely the works of modern German writers, Müller, Thiersch, Böckh, Wachsmuth, Herrmann, Niebuhr, Savigny, Hugo, and others; and, so far as we have had an opportunity of examining the articles hitherto published, they are executed with

uncommon ability, taste, and learning. Works of this description will soon put a new aspect on English classical scholarship, which has, in times past, been too limited in its range, and too mechanical in its spirit, producing men of great sagacity, refined taste, and, in some points, minute erudition; but rarely a scholar of comprehensive learning, as compared with the principal philologists of Germany. It would be absurd to set up the Burgesses, the Burneys, the Marklands, the Elmsleys, the Tates, and the Porsons, against such men as Wolf and Heyne, Herrmann, Böckh, and K. O. Müller.

It is a striking mark of the inactivity of English classical scholars, that Lempriere's "Classical Dictionary" was allowed to reign paramount so many years in the English schools. It was, in its day, a meritorious work, and creditable to the learning and industry of its author. It was even translated into Latin, by a Dutch scholar, and had some currency on the continent. After passing through many editions during the author's lifetime, which closed in 1824, it began to be revised, added to, and altered by other scholars, both in England and in the United States. Several editions have been published by Professor Anthon, of Columbia College, New York, in which important additions were introduced. These were reprinted in England, under the editorial care of Mr. E. H. Barker, one of the contributors to the "Classical Journal." This gentleman and Professor Anthon have been indulging a habit of exchanging honeyed compliments across the Atlantic, to the great satisfaction and improvement of the learned public. Mr. Barker is a somewhat conspicuous specimen of pedantry without much ability; and if we may judge from his prefaces, of a keen mercantile eye for the main chance. It is amusing to see what pains he takes to caution purchasers against being imposed upon by the proprietors of the original work, who were so unreasonable as to try to palm off their wares, when everybody ought to have known that none were genuine except those signed "E. H. Barker." He professes also to have corrected various inelegancies of expression used by Dr. Lempriere, and otherwise improved many of his articles. It is very singular that a person like Mr. Barker, whose prefaces are written in an awkward and contemptible English style, should presume to touch the easy, flowing, and polished paragraphs of Dr. Lempriere. But we must not dwell upon the merits or demerits

Mr. E. H. Barker. Those who are curious to know in what estimation his literary character has been held at home among the real scholars of England may find some pithy comments in the seventh number of the "Museum Criticum," (page 510.)

Dr. Anthon is a scholar of a far higher character and more distinguished abilities than Mr. Barker. He has rendered real and great service to the classical scholars of both countries, by the additions and improvements he has introduced into his successive editions of Lempriere; and his own articles, — though few and far between, — are generally marked by an easy and correct English style. We say "generally"; for the learned Professor in his own recently published Dictionary has the bad taste to repeat, again and again, that noted vulgarism, — sanctioned, it is true, by Walter Scott, but none the less a vulgarism on that account, — of using *would* for *should*, as "We *would* err," for "We *should* err." Dr. Anthon's editions of Lempriere have been favorably received, and have met with an extensive sale. But, with all the additions that were made to it, the work of Dr. Lempriere was found insufficient for the increasing attention paid to classical learning, and Dr. Anthon wisely resolved on making a new book. This has lately appeared under the title placed at the head of the present article. It has been received with praises more extravagant than critical, trumpeted forth by the clamorous tongues of the daily and weekly press, in a style of eulogy that would go far to damn it in the estimation of persons qualified to pronounce upon its merits. It must be a work of no ordinary character to bear up under the storm of applause which "hushed in grim repose, expects" each new publication of Professor Anthon. A rapid sale and large profits are pleasant things no doubt both to publisher and author; but when they are obtained at the cost of scholar-like accuracy, and permanent utility, they are too dearly purchased.

We have been in the habit of consulting Dr. Anthon's new Dictionary for some time past, and have satisfied ourselves that it is the best book of its kind in the English language. This is not saying much. We are satisfied that it is in some respects a good book without reference to any other. It is a book that does honor to the learning and industry, though not to the judgment and accuracy, of Dr. Anthon. Both scholars and teachers will thank him for the information he has collected for them. He has drawn upon the principal works of modern criticism, and his compilation is a valuable

repository of facts and speculations for the use of the classical scholar. In the various departments of biography, mythology, and geography, he has done a great deal towards furnishing the student with ample though not always precise and well-digested information.

But we are compelled to say that the book is not what it ought to be, coming from a man whose means are so abundant as Professor Anthon's to make it a work of first-rate excellence. He has hurried it altogether too much. Two years, the time he speaks in his preface of having devoted to its preparation, are not enough even for his indefatigable and vigorous intellect. He should have given at least ten years of labor to a task of such magnitude and extent. The vast variety of the materials, necessary to be used in such an undertaking, cannot be reduced to order and wrought into a homogeneous whole with such railroad speed. No human being can examine, compare, combine, and digest them as they ought to be digested, in a work of the high pretensions of Anthon's "Classical Dictionary." There must be omissions, inconsistencies, inaccuracies, and contradictions without number. We say there *must* be, in a work prepared with so much haste. Haste is Professor Anthon's besetting sin. Not one of the long row of volumes that he has published, fails to show his great learning, his great capacity for labor, and at the same time his great liability to error; hardly one of his volumes is not deformed by mistakes, that seriously impair its usefulness as a work to be placed in the hands of young students. The time will come when this characteristic will be fully exposed, and the professor's name will be subjected to the penalty of a diminished literary reputation. The scholars of the country will sooner or later learn to scrutinize, as well as to eulogize. At present, newspaper editors and certain presidents of colleges, whose classical knowledge scarcely extends beyond the merest elements, are taken as the highest literary authority upon the merits of his works.

A classical dictionary ought to contain not only all the names of persons and places to be met with in the common school and college classics, but such as the general reader will be likely to find in the political and literary history of the Greeks and Romans. It is no reason for omitting the name of a person, that only a few circumstances respecting him are known. A classical dictionary is the very book in which those few circumstances ought to be recorded,

and where the student ought to be able to find them. Especially the names of persons who have taken an important part in cultivating any particular branch of literature, ought to be scrupulously recorded, however slight may be the remaining vestiges of their works. Philosophers, of whom only the name and fame have descended to our times ; statesmen and generals, great men and renowned in their day, but existing only as mighty shades, εἴδωλα καμόντων, in the pages of history, should take their place, and occupy their little niche in a classical dictionary. But this cannot be done in two years, even with all the resources of German scholarship at command. Dr. Anthon's work is materially defective in this respect, as will hereafter be shown. There is also a want of proportion very perceptible, which springs no doubt from the same cause,—the hasty manner in which the book was prepared. Things of no consequence are frequently discussed at great length, while others of real value are summarily despatched. Speculations on doubtful points of mythology, — the delusive freaks of allegorical interpretation, — discussions of obscure questions touching the connexions between Greece and the East, between Greek literature and Sanscrit philology, — matters, it is true, of curiosity and interest, — are too frequently brought in, to the exclusion of others which it was the more immediate duty of the author of this book to supply. We are not prepared to say that such topics should be wholly excluded ; but, where the choice lies between them, and brief notices of a series of lyric poets, we think there can be no question which ought to be chosen and which to be left, even though a magnificent show of erudition may have to be sacrificed in consequence.

We do not altogether like the manner in which the principal articles in Dr. Anthon's book are composed. One would infer, from the way in which he speaks of his labors in the preface, that the articles had all been written by himself. This is very far from being the case. Many, if not all the most important, are taken,— not merely compiled, but taken, in their very words, — from other writers. Here and there a sentence is omitted, the arrangement slightly altered, or a phrase changed, for the purpose of interweaving a paragraph drawn from some other source. The references to the original authorities are also copied, apparently without verification ; at least in some instances we have found erroneous references in the book from which Dr. Anthon has drawn, exactly copied in the Diction-

ary. Now this is not the way to make a book of permanent utility, or brilliant reputation. All these materials ought to have been freely used by Dr. Anthon ; but then he should have digested, arranged, and verified, and the articles should have been written in his own language, not copying individual writers, but combining all that can be collected from all writers. The effects of a different mode of proceeding are obvious enough; the book is any thing but a homogeneous whole. It is diversified by styles as numerous as the authors in Dr. Anthon's library. He ought to have personally verified every reference to the classics ; for these references form one of the most important portions of such a work to every classical scholar, and where they are carelessly and incorrectly made, the value of the work is materially diminished. Dr. Anthon's Dictionary abounds in errors of this sort. Every one, at all accustomed to classical researches, knows how common these errors are, even in the works of careful writers, and how necessary it is to follow them up with the closest attention. As a general rule, it will never do to take a reference at second hand. Dr. Anthon has apparently done so, and the chances, in any given case, are that the reader who attempts to find the cited passage by means of Dr. Anthon's reference, will be sent on a fool's errand. Besides this, the edition quoted from ought in all cases to be specified ; otherwise it will frequently happen, from the different arrangements in different editions, that it will be impossible to verify the citation, without resorting to other guides.

Another consequence of this mode of quoting the very words of other writers is, that inconsistent statements are often made in different parts of the book, and the young scholar will of course be at a loss which to assume as the correct one. Dr. Anthon ought to have given himself time to compare, in cases of this kind, and to decide which was correct, or most likely to be so. It is obvious that all this could not be done in two years, and therefore we claim the right of censuring him for getting up the work as if a speedy publication were an affair of life and death. It is startling to read contradictions like the following, which we take from articles on names so well known as those of Demosthenes and Æschines. Speaking of the prosecution brought by Æschines against Ctesiphon, in the article "Demosthenes," he says ; "The matter remained for some time pending, in consequence of the interruption which public business of all kinds met with during the

embarrassments and troubles that preceded the battle of Chæronea." In the article Æschines, the following account is given of the matter; "Their most famous controversy was that which related to the *Crown*. A little after the battle of Chæronea, Demosthenes was commissioned to repair the fortifications of Athens. He expended in the performance of this task, thirteen talents, ten of which he received from the public treasury, while the remaining three were generously given from his own private purse. As a mark of public gratitude for this act of liberality, Ctesiphon proposed to the people to decree a crown of gold to the orator. Æschines immediately preferred an impeachment, &c. This celebrated cause, after having been delayed some time in consequence of the troubles attendant on the death of Philip, was at last brought to a hearing," &c. Such a contradiction is inexcusable. If his authorities were at variance upon this point, surely the Professor should have taken the trouble to make his own statements harmonize. The account of the matter, given in the article last cited, is imperfect, but true as far as it goes. It had already been postponed nearly two years when Philip was assassinated. The postponement for six years longer was probably caused by that event, and its consequences. The statement with regard to the bribe of Harpalus, is too strong. "Demosthenes was condemned for having suffered himself to be bribed by Harpalus, a Macedonian governor," &c. The truth is, Demosthenes, like a victim who lost his head during the Reign of Terror, was *suspected of being suspected* of bribery, and on this ground, was condemned by the enlightened judges of Athens. The evidence against Demosthenes never amounted to any thing, and the charge was inconsistent with the tenor of the great orator's life. The subject is well discussed by Thirlwall in his "History of Greece," but we have no room for more than this passing allusion to it here. Suffice it to say, that it rests wholly on the calumnies of Dinarchus, the venal speech-maker, the *barley Demosthenes*, and the gossiping stories of Plutarch. It is refuted by a chain of probable reasoning which leaves scarcely a doubt upon any candid mind. The reader may consult Thirlwall, (Vol. VII. p. 152, sqq.), for an able examination of the question. "Of all political characters," says Heeren, (*Politics of Greece*, p. 276 of Bancroft's translation,) "Demosthenes is the most sublime, and the finest tragic character, with which history is acquainted."

In the account of Demosthenes, one of the Athenian generals in the Sicilian expedition, this statement occurs; "Demosthenes and Nicias were both taken prisoners, and destroyed themselves, while in confinement, on hearing that the Syracusans were deliberating about putting them both to death. Another account, alluded to by Plutarch, makes them to have been stoned to death." In the article on Nicias, the same event is thus described; "In endeavouring to retreat by land from before Syracuse, the Athenian commanders, Nicias and Demosthenes, were pursued, defeated, and compelled to surrender. The generals were put to death; their soldiers were confined at first in the quarry of Epipolæ, and afterwards sold as slaves." This is correct; of course the other is wrong. Thucydides is the only trustworthy authority upon the events of this ill-starred expedition. The minute and graphic account he has left us forms one of the most masterly pieces of historical painting in the literature of the world. With regard to the death of the generals, his language is clear, and positive. "The rest of the Athenians," says he, "and of their allies, whom they [the Sicilians] had captured, they conveyed down into the stone quarries, regarding this as the safest way of keeping them; but they put Nicias and Demosthenes to death, against the wishes of Gylippus." *Νικίαν δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένην, ἄκοντος τοῦ Γυλίππου, ἀπέσφαξαν.* Lib. VII. c. 86.

The articles on the orators are generally well written and satisfactory, and the sketches of their works drawn up with good judgment. We notice, occasionally, the same effects of haste here that are elsewhere observable. The biographies are too general; characteristic and well known facts are omitted, because they happen to be omitted by Dr. Anthon's authorities. In the life of Æschines, his presence at the battle of Mantinea when he was twenty-seven years old, and eight years after at the fight of Tamynæ, with other military services, which received the applause of his countrymen, are passed over. These are of importance, in the scantiness of the information we possess concerning that orator. We find, too, mistakes that a moderate degree of carefulness would have rendered impossible. Under the name of Isocrates, we meet with this statement. "He is said to have charged one thousand drachmæ (nearly 1800 dollars) for a complete course of oratorical instruction, and to have said to some one who found fault with the largeness of the amount, that he would willingly give ten thousand drachmæ, to any one who

should impart to him the self-confidence and the command of voice requisite in a public orator." The anecdote is related by Plutarch, who also tells a story of Demosthenes declaring to Isocrates that he could not pay the thousand drachmæ, and begging to be allowed to purchase one fourth of the course for two hundred; to which the old rhetorician replied, "We do not cut up our business; but, as they sell fine fishes whole, so, if you will become a disciple, I will give you the art entire." If the terms of Isocrates had been, what Dr. Anthon represents them, we doubt whether even Isocrates would have commanded many pupils. But by some strange mistake he makes the sum nearly ten times as great as it really was. A thousand drachmæ amount to only $170, or $175. Taking the table printed at the end of the Dictionary as correct, and it is nearly so, one drachme is 17cts., 5m.; one thousand, of course, are one hundred and seventy-five dollars; and even this, considering the superior value of money then, as compared with the present, is a pretty high price for a single course of rhetorical lessons; ten times as much would have placed the instructions of Isocrates beyond the reach of the richest citizens of Athens. We have also to censure the omission of all mention of Theodorus, the father of Isocrates, a respectable citizen, and wealthy enough to bear his part in the *liturgies*, and to educate his three sons, — the orator, Telesippus, and Diomnestus. Neither of the last two, by the way, is alluded to in the Dictionary. Theramenes also is not enumerated among his instructors, though that circumstance is important in connexion with the fact afterwards stated, — so honorable to the character of Isocrates, — of his daring to defend the Oligarch when that able, but unprincipled man, fell under the sweeping proscription of his peers among the Thirty.

Dr. Anthon says of Lempriere's Dictionary, that "its language was frequently marked by a grossness of allusion, which rendered the book a very unfit one to be put into the hands of the young;" and of his own, that, "in preparing the mythological articles, the greatest care has been taken to exclude from them every thing offensive, either in language or detail, and to present such a view of the several topics connected with this department of inquiry, as may satisfy the most scrupulous, and make the present work a safe guide, in a moral point of view, to the young of either sex." No doubt there is room, in a matter like this, for the exercise of a sound dis-

cretion ; but as to treating ancient mythology in a manner which shall "exclude every thing offensive, either in language or detail," the thing is impossible. The subject is essentially gross in many of its parts ; and this grossness it is out of the question to disguise or conceal, without leaving the treatment of it extremely imperfect. Besides, it is very possible to handle such a subject, without doing harm to the modesty of the youthful reader. Its baseness may be shown only to be detested. There is no need of dwelling on licentious details, so as to inflame the passions. They may be referred to in general terms, as matters of fact, with sufficient distinctness for all the purposes of information. But if they are studiously kept out of sight, the view presented of ancient morals, and of mythology, will be imperfect and false. The curiosity of the young is likely to be much more injuriously excited by keeping objectionable details out of view, and, at the same time, intimating that there is something very naughty, but that it is too bad to be mentioned. We think Dr. Anthon has carried this notion too far ; the principle is a wrong one. Plain dealing with young scholars is a great deal better than mystery, as well in the slippery parts of ancient mythology, as in other matters ; and this, upon a very obvious principle of human nature, that mystery upon forbidden topics excites a prurient curiosity, which gives them a dangerous power over the imagination ; whereas downright plainness of speech strips the subject of its fascination, and sets it before the mind just as it is. We do not take it upon ourselves to affirm that Lempriere has not managed these matters sometimes with a censurable freedom ; we think he has, and that Professor Anthon deserves the thanks of the public for avoiding this error. But, in the language of the Professor's friend, Mr. Barker, "An important fact, connected with history, or mythology, or theology, ought not to be suppressed, lest its insertion should offend the nauseous niceness of a tender-stomached critic. Is not *such* fastidiousness the mere affectation of old-maidish prudery, when it is considered that all matter of this sort is extracted from those ancient poets and writers, who are set before youth in the course of a classical education ?"

In another part of his preface, Dr. Anthon says; "The editor was employed to prepare a work, which, while it should embrace all that was valuable in the additions that had, from time to time, been made by him, was to retain no por-

tion whatever of the old matter of Lempriere, but to supply its place with newly written articles. This has now accordingly been done." This statement is not strictly correct. Very few newly written articles will be found in the volume, though other articles are often substituted for those of Lempriere. But they are in the very words, as we have before remarked, of other writers. Besides, many of the less important articles and parts of other articles, are substantially retained from Lempriere. To take the first example that comes to hand. Plutarch, in the life of Isocrates, relates an incident that took place while the rhetorician was present at an entertainment, in company with Nicocreon, a tyrant of some historical note. Of this person, Lempriere gives the following brief account; "Nicocreon, a tyrant of Salamis, in the age of Alexander the Great. He ordered the philosopher Anaxarchus to be pounded to pieces in a mortar." Precisely the same thing is stated in Anthon's edition of Lempriere, excepting that by striking out the period after *Great*, and the pronoun *He*, it is thrown into a single sentence. In Anthon's own Dictionary it stands thus; "Nicocreon, a tyrant of Salamis, in the age of Alexander the Great. A fabulous story is related of his having caused the philosopher, Anaxarchus, to be pounded alive in a mortar." The reader will perceive, that, while the language is slightly varied, the only thing which needed alteration stands just as it does in Lempriere. Nicocreon is called the tyrant of Salamis, by Lempriere; he is followed by Anthon in the corrected edition, and in his own work. Lempriere was wrong, and, of course, Anthon is wrong. Nicocreon was the tyrant of Cyprus, and is known as such in history; he is spoken of as such, wherever he is referred to, in other articles, by Lempriere, and by Anthon. Lempriere, perhaps, might have had in his mind the little town of Salamis, on the island of Cyprus. Nicocreon may have been mentioned somewhere as living in this town, or belonging to it; but the statement is made, precisely as if Nicocreon had been tyrant of *the* Salamis; no young reader would or could understand it otherwise, and probably Dr. Lempriere himself wrote it so in a careless moment. Dr. Anthon appears to have copied him without inquiry. Had it been otherwise, Nicocreon would have been called, either "the tyrant of Cyprus," or "the tyrant of Salamis, on the island of Cyprus"; at least he ought to have been called so. Many

other cases of this kind occur, but we have not room to enlarge upon this branch of our subject.

The article on Homer is long and interesting. It is much better than any thing written on the subject by Lempriere. But nearly the whole of it is taken, *verbatim*, from the tasteful and elegant little book of Henry Nelson Coleridge ; a book, we may add, which ought to be in the hands of every reader of Homer. It is a volume that combines a fine critical spirit, a feeling of literary excellence, drawn from a familiar acquaintance with the highest works of genius, in different ages, and an enthusiastic admiration of the Homeric poetry.

We have examined Dr. Anthon's work to some extent in the literary history of Greek lyric and dramatic poetry. We have noticed in both departments a number of omissions, which we think ought not to have been allowed. It is true, that time has made mournful havoc both in the lyric and the dramatic poetry of the Greeks. With the immortal exception of Pindar, — and even of his works but a small portion remains, — nothing is left but short pieces or fragments of all that mass of minstrelsy, which filled up the interval between the epic and dramatic age ; single and broken rays from that flood of light, which once encircled like a glory, the Grecian Isles. Still many names and facts have come down to us ; and single lines of exquisite beauty, preserved here and there, in the old grammarians, lexicographers, and scholiasts, and particularly in Athenæus, testify to the excellence of schools of poetry now lost for ever. All these names and facts should be carefully brought together in such a dictionary as Dr. Anthon's, but we find a very large portion of them passed over in silence. Why did he say nothing of Thaletas of Crete, the Doric poet, and a noted author of Pæans and Hyporchemes ? why nothing of a long line of Spartan lyrists, who produced immense numbers of lyric poems, beginning from the very earliest times ? nothing of Gnesippus, the famous author of antique serenades, according to Athenæus, and to the author of the "Helots" by him cited ;

> —Ὁ δὲ Γνήσιππος ἔστ' ἀκούειν
> Ὃς νυκτερίν' εὗρε μυχοῖς ἀείσματ' ἐκκαλεῖσθαι
> Γυναῖκας ἔχοντας ἰαμβύκην τε καὶ τρίγωνον.

This ancient poet, of sport and pleasure, fell under the lash of the Attic comedians, being satyrized in three several pieces by Cratinus ; and he was charged with infamous vices by Telecleides, as Athenæus relates. His poetry, however,

was highly esteemed, and Clearchus declared, that his erotic and Locrian pieces were in no respect inferior to the poems of Sappho and Anacreon. We have also the names of the Spartan poets Areos, Eurytus, Zarex, Spendo, Dionysodotus, Xenodamus, and Gitiadas, who, according to the testimony of the ancients, were distinguished contributors to that splendid poetry, which braced up the martial spirit of the stern old Spartans. Not one is mentioned by Anthon. Of the famous poetesses, Megalostrata, referred to with respect by Alcman; Cleitagora, spoken of by a scholiast on Aristophanes; Telesilla, of Argos, renowned not less for her poetic powers than for her heroic qualities, and mentioned by Plutarch, Pausanias, and Athenæus; Praxilla, of Sicyon, famed as a dithyambic poetess, after whom, according to Hephæstion, a dactylic metre was called the Praxillean, and another, the Ionic a majori, brachycatalectic trimeter, (we beg pardon for using words of such "learned length and thundering sound,") was also named; Nossis, the Locrian, some of whose epigrams are preserved in the Anthology; Aristomache, the Erythræan poetess, the victor in the Isthmian games, and author of the "Golden Book," deposited in the treasury of Sicyon; of all these Dr. Anthon has not a word to say, though they were numbered among the nine lyric muses of antiquity. We find no mention made of Xenocritus, the Locrian poet, the founder of a new epoch in Grecian music, and the inventor, or perfecter, of the Locrian harmony;* nor of Xenodamas, the poet of Cythera; nor of Eunomus, Erasippus, and Mnaseas, the Locrian poets, of whom Bode remarks, that "they elevated anew the fame of the Locrian poetical culture, and are to be regarded as the prominent leaders of a series of singers, who formed, after Xenocritus, a peculiar school, and succeeded in lending to their creations a certain distinctive character" ("Geschichte der Hellenischen Dichtkunst," B. 2. T. 2, p. 44). No mention is made of Damon, who, according to Plutarch, invented a Hypolydian mood; nor of Xanthus and Sacadas, the *melic* poets, and predecessors of Stesichorus, the former of whom is commemorated by Stesichorus himself, and the latter composed elegies, and a poem on the Destruction of Troy, (*Ἰλίου πέρσις,*) and was a victor at the Pythian games. (Ol. 48. 3.)

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*The Scholiast on Pindar says: *Λοκριστὶ γάρ τις ἁρμονία ἐστὶν, ἣν ἀσκῆσαί φασι Ξενόκριτον τὸν Λοκρόν.*

These are only a small portion of the names, the omission of which we have had occasion to observe. They are names of considerable importance in the history of Greek literature, though but scanty notices of their works have reached us. Not one of them, but should have been found in a classical dictionary professing to give ample details on the history of ancient literature. Many names of much less importance, — for example Anyte, the poetess, — are actually found in Dr. Anthon's book. Of this we do not complain, but have only to say, that the others should have been inserted there too. We are the more surprised at the omission, as they all occur in a learned and able work, cited above, Dr. G. H. Bode's "History of Greek Poetry," which is mentioned in the catalogue of books prefixed to Dr. Anthon's Dictionary. If the Professor had taken the trouble to consult this very laborious and excellent work, he would have found there the requisite information, well arranged and clearly stated. These names and many others would not have occupied much space. They would have been much more appropriately inserted in a classical dictionary than the Professor's speculations on mythology and Sanscrit philology, or even than that ingenious argument to prove the impossibility of the existence of giants, to which he complacently alludes in one of his prefaces, but which belongs rather to the science of natural history or comparative anatomy, than to classical literature. By lopping off these useless excrescences, room enough might have been made for all the names we have mentioned and a great many other pertinent subjects, which have been passed over, to the serious diminution of the value of the Dictionary.

The lives of the dramatic poets, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are taken chiefly from a useful and learned volume, published some years ago at Cambridge, in England, under the title of the "Theatre of the Greeks, or the History, Literature, and Criticism of the Grecian Drama." This work is a compilation from Genelli, Schlegel, and others, and contains a great variety of information. It is a work of considerable utility to the student of the Attic drama; but it is defective in some points, and incorrect in others. It should have contained, for example, some account of the laws that were enacted from time to time to regulate the dramatic poets, and particularly of the measures adopted by the Thirty Tyrants to suppress the freedom of the comic theatre. This is one of its defects. It is also affirmed that women

were undoubtedly accustomed to attend the theatrical exhibitions. This is an error; or at least the stronger probability lies the other way. The compiler of the book was probably unacquainted with the acute and learned essays of Böttiger, the greatest antiquary of modern times, on this very subject, and with the almost irresistible argument that great scholar advances in support of the negative side of the question. Professor Anthon follows the English compiler implicitly, altering a word or phrase here and there, and sometimes falling into mistakes when he does so. For example, in a note to the life of Aristophanes, in the work referred to, there is a statement of the probable age of the poet, upon grounds there mentioned. For reasons specified, the writer assumes B. C. 456, as the year of his birth; and says, for certain other reasons also specified, "Hence we may fix his death, with some degree of certainty, at or about B. C. 380, which would make him then nearly eighty years of age." The statement in this form is correct. Dr. Anthon has taken these data, but making some verbal alterations, puts forth the statement thus; "The exact dates of his birth and death are equally unknown; the former, however, has been fixed with some degree of probability at B. C. 456, and the latter at B. C. 380, when he would be eighty years of age." Dr. Anthon's authority says that he died *at* or *about* B. C. 380, which would make him *nearly* eighty years of age. Dr. Anthon, not taking the trouble to compare the numbers, states roundly, omitting the qualifying words, *at or about*, and *nearly*, that he *would* be eighty years of age. Of course if the dates of his birth and death were as above given, he was seventy-six years old when he died, as the Professor would have found out by subtracting 380 from 456, — no very difficult problem.

In the book we have spoken of, the authorities are referred to in notes at the bottom of the page. These references are inserted by Dr. Anthon, in the body of the text, sometimes, if not always, without verification. The substance also of the notes, when they contain other matters besides the references to authors, is also transferred to the text, and interwoven with other borrowed discussions. This is the manner in which all the important articles on the literature and criticism of the Greek drama are made up. The long and able account of the theatre, which is particularly referred to in Dr. Anthon's preface, is taken from the work already mentioned, and constructed as above described. The compiler of that

work borrowed it principally from Genelli, whose work on the Attic Theatre is a standard authority on most points connected with the subject. The main body of the treatise on the "Theatre of the Greeks" is distributed under the several heads of, "History of Tragedy from its Rise to the Time of Æschylus,"— then follow, with the biographies, criticisms on the tragic and comic poets,— "The Dramatic Contests," "The Theatre and Audience," "The Actors and Chorus," "Dresses," &c. Dr. Anthon has taken out the biographies from their place, and copied them in his separate articles on the poets; but he has adopted the same order in the other subjects, which is observed by the compiler. The entire discussions upon all these points are copied from the work in question, — mostly in the very words of the compilation. It is true, the work is referred to, but only as the other authorities are referred to. There is no intimation, that the entire article, with slight and unimportant modifications, is transferred from the compilation to the Dictionary.

We have stated that Dr. Anthon had probably copied the references to the authorities without verification. Our reason for making this statement is, that in some instances we have found the mistakes in the references repeated by Dr. Anthon. A single instance of this will be sufficient to illustrate what is meant. In the article we have just been considering there is a reference to Theophrastus, Char. 11. as authority for the statement that "the lessee sometimes gave a gratuitous exhibition, in which case tickets of admission were distributed." Turning to the same subject in the "Theatre," we find, in a foot-note, the passage cited in the original Greek, and the reference in Roman letters, *Char.* XI. It should have been Theophrastus, *Char.* XXX.

Professor Anthon has nothing to say of the laws regulating theatrical exhibitions, we presume because nothing is said by the compiler. We remember seeing it remarked by one of our contemporaries, that the name of Lamachus, the author of a law restraining the license of the comic theatre, was omitted by Professor Anthon, — the authority relied upon by the reviewer being Schöll. The answer to this was that Lamachus in Schöll was a mere misprint for Antimachus; but, if the reviewer had looked after the tyrant of ancient comedy under the *alias* of Antimachus, he would have been compelled equally to make the return, *Non est inventus.* In a note on page 120 of the volume so often referred to, the question of the pres-

ence of females at theatrical representations is briefly discussed and authoritatively decided in the affirmative. Professor Anthon copies the substance of the note, and all the references, as if he were expressing his own opinions, thus. "We have no doubt that women were admitted to the dramatic exhibitions. Julius Pollux uses the term θεατρία," &c. As we before intimated, we regard this statement in the compilation and the Dictionary, at least in the form in which it is given by both, as a mistake. The Professor should have copied the doubts hinted at by the compiler, as well as the strong conclusion at which he arrives. Böttiger, whose name has already been quoted upon this point, examined the subject most minutely, and argued it with ingenuity and erudition, in three essays, published originally, the first two in Wieland's "Deutscher Mercur" for 1796 and 1797, and the third in the "Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände," 1808, (Numbers 309–311;) and republished in Sillig's collection of Böttiger's "Kleine Schriften," (Vol. I. p. 293, *et seq.*) These essays are a beautiful specimen of antiquarian research, and an excellent model of scholar-like disquisition ; learned, but lively; minute, without being tedious; comprehensive and conclusive. No scholar can be on a level with the literature of this curious question until he has become familiar with them.

We observe in the philosophical articles, that a great deal has been borrowed from the English translation of Ritter's "History of Philosophy." A great part of the elaborate account of Plato, for example, is very closely copied from that translation. Professor Anthon ought to have used the original, *and the second edition ;* for Ritter saw reason to make many important alterations, particularly with regard to the views he had presented of Plato and the Platonic philosophy. The first edition of his work was carefully examined in one of the learned journals of Germany, — Jahn's "Jahrbuch der Philologie," we think, — in which its errors were pointed out, and with so much ability, that Ritter remodelled his sketch of Plato according to the more correct opinions of his reviewer. This service to the history of philosophy was performed, we believe, by Dr. H. F. Hermann, the accomplished Professor in the University of Marburg, and author of a learned work entitled "Geschichte und System der Platonischen Philosophie," which Dr. Anthon would have done well to use more than he seems to have done. We have, therefore, in

Professor Anthon's Dictionary, instead of a well-considered view of Plato and his school, drawn from original sources and from the latest and best illustrative works, a copy, to a considerable extent, of an English translation of statements, rejected upon fuller investigation, by their author himself. We had intended to follow out this branch of our subject somewhat further; but we have only room to mention a few miscellaneous omissions with such desultory comment as may occur.

If the classical scholar should chance, in the course of his studies, to meet with the name of Polus, the celebrated actor, he will not find it in the "Classical Dictionary," excepting where it is incidentally mentioned in the article "Theatre," under the head of actors. The name does not occur in its alphabetical place; and nothing is stated of this somewhat famous personage, when the name occurs, except the fact of his having made the sum of a talent by the performances of two days. He will be astonished to find no mention of Zenodotus, the celebrated critic of Alexandria, and one of the revisers of the Homeric poems; of Zenobius, a collector of proverbs still extant, and found in Gaisford's "Paræmiographi Græci"; nor of a writer of the same name and the author of a small tract on the cries of animals, published by Valckenaer; nor of another, a writer belonging to Trœzen, who was a stoic philosopher. Besides the Zenos, mentioned by Dr. Anthon, there were, a Sidonian, an Epicurean, whom Cicero heard at Athens; another, a sophist and physician, of whom an account is given by Eunapius; another from Rhodes, an historian contemporary with Polybius. We do not find the name of Zeuxippus, of Gnossus, an Academic philosopher, and the successor of Ænesidemus who flourished under Augustus; nor of Zeuxis, the medical writer of the same name, who commented on Hippocrates; nor of Zeuxis, the Satrap of Lydia, under Antiochus the Great. Zopyrus, an historian, of Byzantium, is not mentioned; nor the physiognomist, of the same name, contemporary with Socrates, who pronounced the famous character of the philosopher, that he was stupid and licentious, and who is spoken of several times by Cicero; nor is Zopyrio, the Alexandrian grammarian; nor Zosimus, the author of a life of Demosthenes; nor Zoticus, of Smyrna, the infamous favorite of Eliogabalus; nor Zeuxidamus, son of Archidamus, king of Sparta; nor the Spartan of the same name, the son of Leotychides; nor Zenarchus, the Peripatetic philosopher, born at Seleucia, in Cilicia, whom Strabo heard,

and who taught at Alexandria, Athens, and Rome, and enjoyed the patronage of Augustus; nor Zenodorus, a petty ruler in Trachonitis, who drew upon himself the displeasure of Augustus by encouraging the plundering of the caravans which passed through his country, and part of whose territory was bestowed on Herod.

Professor Anthon speaks of having devoted particular attention to the geographical articles; and some of them are prepared apparently with elaborate care. After a somewhat close examination, we have the same charges to bring against his method of proceeding in this department, that we have already brought against other parts of the work. We mean the taking of entire articles, with slight alterations, from other writers, copying the authorities cited by them, and placing the author's name at the end, as a collateral authority; as if the articles had been written by Dr. Anthon himself, and the real author had only been consulted among others; and in the next place many omissions. Cramer's Greece has been a most convenient mine from which to obtain articles of this sort; not the materials simply, but the finished articles. For example, more than three columns are taken bodily from Cramer, in the article on Thessaly; about twenty-four lines are from some other source; and at the end we have this imposing array of authorities "(Xen. Hist. Gr. 6. 1. 4; Aristot. de Rep. 2. 9; Cram. Anc. Greece, Vol. 1, p. 343, sqq.)" In the original part of the article, it is said, "Its coasts, especially the Sinus Pagasæus, afforded the best harbour for shipping;" but the coast of Magnesia was noted for being ἀλίμενος, or *harbourless*, as it is expressly called by Euripides. The article on Thrace, too, is constructed in the same way; it is all *taken*, with a few slight changes, and the omission of a few sentences. Many other principal geographical articles are *done* upon the same convenient plan.

Full as are some portions of the geographical department, there is, as has been hinted, an immense number of omissions of names which occur in common authors. The student who should rely wholly on Dr. Anthon, for geographical illustrations of almost any author, would find his work, with the exception of the more important names, quite unsatisfactory. Our opinion is, that a classical dictionary ought to contain all the names of places, even the smallest, that are mentioned by one or at most by two authors. If we try Dr. Anthon's book by this rule, the deficiencies will be found surprising.

Taking a single letter, the last for example, we shall find a very large number of geographical names utterly neglected. Some of them are not of much importance, but all occur in good authors. The following are instances. Zabda, a fortress on the Tigris, called also Phœnice, lying north-east of Nisibis. This occurs in the Dictionary under Zabdicene, but not by itself, or under its other name, Bezabda; the surrounding people were called Zabdiceni. Zagrus, or Zagrius, the point of Mount Taurus, separating Media from Assyria. Zaitha, or Zantha, a town in Mesopotamia, near the Chaboras. Here, or at the neighbouring town of Dura, the Emperor Gordian was buried. Zalake, a town of north Media, on the Amardus (which also is omitted), mentioned by Ptolemy. Zaradrus, or Hesidrus, (neither name is given by Anthon,) supposed by Mannert to be the Suttledge. Zadracarta, the principal city of Hyrcania, mentioned by Arrian and others. Zenodotium, a castle in Mesopotamia. Zethis, a town in Carmania, mentioned by Pliny. Zimara, a town of lesser Armenia, on the west bank of the Euphrates, — according to Mannert twelve geographical miles distant from the junction of its two arms. Zagora, or Zagoron, mentioned by Arrian, a castle between the Halys and Sinope. Zalecus, or Zaliscus, a river of Paphlagonia, two hundred and ten stades northwest of the Halys. Zaliche, or Leontopolis, a town of Paphlagonia, probably lying in a mountain pass near the Zaliscus. Zama, a town of Cappadocia, near the northwest border of the country, six geographical miles northwest of Sarnena. Zara, a town in the northern part of Cappadocia, between Carmisa and Nicopolis. Zenobia, a town founded by the Queen of Palmyra, on the site of Thapsacus. Zephyrium, besides the two mentioned by Anthon, 1. a promontory and town of Pontus, ninety stades from Tripolis, now Zefre, or Zafra, known to various ancient authors; 2. a place sixty stades from the promontory of Carambis, in Paphlagonia; 3. a promontory of Crete, now Cape St. Juan; 4. another of Marmarica; 5. another of Cyrene. Zigana, or Ziganna, a town of Cappadocia not far south of Trapezus, known to the Itin. Anton., and garrisoned by the *secunda cohors Valentiana.* Zoropassus, a town in Cappadocia. Zoparistus, do. Zermizegethusa, a royal residence or town in Dacia, near Graditz, in Wallachia, (Dio Cass. Lib. 68.) Zaca, an old town in Bœotia; (Steph. Byz.) Zarex, 1. a town and mountain of Laconia; (the town lay two hundred stades from Epidaurus, and

belonged to the Eleutherolacones, when that confederacy was instituted); 2. a rock in Eubœa (Cramer). Zelasium, a promontory of Magnesia, above Demetrias, opposite to the islands now called Trikkero (Cramer). Zephyre, an island near Crete, off Cape Sammonium, one of those now called Grades. Zelea, an old and important town of Bithynia, mentioned in Homer as on the Æsepus. Its troops were commanded by Pandarus in the Trojan war. To this place belonged Arthmius, who came into Greece to bribe the Athenians and others about the time of the Persian war; (Demosthenes, Æschin. &c.) Zerynthus, a place near Ænus, in Thrace, where Apollo was worshipped, and a cave existed, sacred to Hecate. Zoster, a promontory of Attica, near the *demus* Anagyrrhasia, consisting of several small projecting points which the fleet of Xerxes mistook for ships (Herod.). Zea, the outer part of the Piræus at Athens. Zoetia, or Zoeteum, in Arcadia, a town deserted in the days of Pausanias, but containing temples of Demeter and Artemis. Zygætes, a river of Thrace, that takes its rise in the Rhodope mountains. It is joined by the Argitas, which gives name to the united stream (Col. Leake). We observe, too, in the article "Ægypt," that Ægyptus, as the ancient name of the river Nile, is omitted, although it is spoken of in the Odyssey.

In the article Pharos, Professor Anthon makes the surprising statement, that the tower which bore that name "was built with white marble, and could be seen at the distance of 100 miles." Truly, it must have been not only one of the seven wonders of the world, but a greater wonder than all the seven put together. It would have been visible from Memphis, and about half way to the island of Cyprus; it would have been twenty-four times as high as Bunker Hill Monument will be when completed, and nearly ten times as high as the Pyramid of Cheops. Had it been a mile high it could have been seen only at the distance of ninety-six miles and a half. Further on, he says; "The name *Pharos* itself would seem to have been given to the tower first, and after that to the island, if the Greek etymology be the true one, according to which the term comes from the Greek φάω to shine, or be bright." But the island was called Pharos in the time of Homer.

> Νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἔστι πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
> Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε — Φάρον δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσιν.
>
> Odyssey, Lib. IV. 354, 355.

Of course, then, it could not have derived its name from a tower built in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, some half dozen centuries later.

It will be perceived by our readers, that we have wholly passed by several departments of the work we have been reviewing; not for want of materials for comment, in the way both of praise and censure, but because our limits forbid us to prosecute the examination further at present. Notwithstanding the inaccuracies and omissions we have felt it our duty to point out, we repeat what we said at the beginning, that Dr. Anthon's "Classical Dictionary" is the best in the English language, and will be found in many points an extremely useful book. We regret that a scholar of his powers and attainments and opportunities, should have allowed himself to hurry into the literary world a work of so great importance, with all its imperfections on its head. Professor Anthon owed it to his fame for scholarship, to the reputation of his country, and to the generation of young men whom his works are exerting a great influence in forming, to expend his most anxious care, and the patient labors of many years, to exhaust all the learning of his capacious memory, and to apply all the powers of his vigorous reason, in making a classical dictionary fit to stand the test of the severest scrutiny at home and abroad; at once complete, condensed, harmonized, digested, and consistent; a work to be relied upon for the accuracy, as well as respected for the amount, of information it contains; a work to which he might with justice assert the fullest claims of authorship. Such a work, the present Classical Dictionary can with no propriety be called. Nor is the typographical part entitled to all the praise which Dr. Anthon awards it, in his preface. Mr. Drisler, to whom he says the work is indebted for most of its correctness, has hastily and imperfectly performed the duty assigned him. We have noticed many minute errors, many instances of false accentuation in Greek words, many mistakes in numbers, and inconsistencies in dates, which ought not to have escaped that gentleman's critical eye. We still hope that Dr. Anthon will use his abundant materials in preparing a book, more worthy of the high position he occupies in the literature of the United States, and more useful to those for whose benefit it was intended.

ART. VII. — *American Criminal Trials.* By PELEG W. CHANDLER. Volume I. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 12mo. pp. 486.

THE object of this work is, to bring together a fair and full account of the most important criminal trials, which have occurred in the history of the now United States. The idea of a middle course between the heavy "State Trials" of Howell, and the sprightly "*Causes Célèbres*" of the French, is a good one, and, as far as the volume before us, relating to trials before the American Revolution, is concerned, the reader will find it carried out in an interesting and instructive manner. The book is suitable for popular reading, being free from legal technicalities and formal statements. A trial is taken, and all the facts anterior to its occurrence, with other matters serving to throw light upon it, are carefully collected. The materials are then interwoven into a narrative of the writer's own, thus forming a series of interesting and prominent facts in juridical literature.

Besides the public principles unfolded and illustrated in the judicial proceedings recorded in this work, the details of circumstances leading to the trials, and of the evidence adduced at them, exhibit a minute, graphic, and striking view of the state of society and manners at different periods and places, such as is scarcely in any other way to be obtained. The interior of social, domestic, and private life is frequently thrown open in the course of an examination of witnesses, and an access afforded to the retired paths of ordinary human experience, which history, in any of its other forms, does not approach. There is a peculiar satisfaction in contemplating such representations of actual life, in its minutest relations and interests, brought out to view in the true and authentic aspect which they wear, when appearing with the sanction of oaths, and under the decisive tests of a public investigation, and an unsparing cross-examination. The mind reposes with confidence on the scenes thus presented, and is gratified in beholding the image of its own nature and condition reflected in so clear a mirror. When we consider how acceptable, from this and other causes, to the public taste and curiosity, the accounts of trials, particularly criminal trials, always are, and look at the manner in which the work before us is prepared,

and take into view the field from which the author proposes to select his materials, we cannot doubt the success of his labors. The present volume justifies us in expressing the opinion, that Mr. Chandler, as he proceeds, will produce a work that will shed much light upon the progress of law and liberty, and also of manners and morals, in this country.

The first case presented is that of Anne Hutchinson. She was tried and condemned, not so much in consequence of alleged heretical opinions, as of the mischievous social influence she was believed to be exerting. At the meetings which she held, and which she made so attractive as to draw in a continually increasing number of the females of the colony, she is represented to have made a systematic assault upon the principles preached in the pulpits, and administered in the government, of Massachusetts. That assault was rendered effective and formidable by her genius and zeal. She was felt to be undermining the foundations of the church and the state. The question came up in her case, which comes up in other forms in our own age ; and it was settled by the New England fathers in the same way in which it has been settled of late in different parts of the country. It is, whether it is better to endure, in patience, the disturbance produced by agitators and fanatics, or by an exercise of absolute force to silence and suppress them. Upon a full and candid examination of the case the conclusion may, perhaps, be reached, that the New-England people of the olden time exercised about as much forbearance as men of this generation would commonly exhibit under similar circumstances.

Mrs. Hutchinson was not only in the daily habit of denouncing and ridiculing the clergy and the most cherished institutions of the country, but she advocated the startling doctrine of private revelations from the Divine Spirit, which she placed where, if real, they belonged, on a level with the revelations recorded in the Scriptures, or rather, as in effect it was, infinitely above them, because infinitely above any particular interpretations that may be made of them. She was powerful and ingenious in her knowledge and application of the Scriptures, long trained to disputation, fluent, prompt, and eloquent. Her sex shielded her from many of the means of opposition and resistance which might otherwise have been employed ; and, besides all this, there was mingled with her bold and fanatical notions and proceedings much truth, which

the age had not then reached, and of which the acquisition by her is wonderful and unaccountable. For these and other reasons, too numerous to be mentioned, she was indeed, most naturally, an object of the greatest dread, as an agitator and innovator, and was rapidly making progress in upturning and overthrowing the whole system of society and religion which the Puritans had fled to the American wilderness to establish and enjoy. And who that considers the sacrifices they had made, the privations they had endured, the sufferings and sorrows they had encountered, in procuring their settlement, — the price they had paid for the institutions and arrangements of their social and religious state and order, — can wonder that they were unwilling to see the fruits of their labors and struggles blasted, and the fabric, they had carefully and painfully reared, undermined and cast down ?

But much as we may sympathize with and pity them, we must not withhold our concurrence in that general voice of condemnation of their proceedings which is uttered by the present age. It is of the extremest importance that the principle, proclaimed in that condemnation, should be imprinted everywhere upon the public mind. It declares that no circumstances of provocation will ever justify the use of force in suppressing opinion, and that, however much disturbance, perplexity, and vexation, moral, political, or theological agitators and innovators may occasion, the hand of society must never attempt to restrain the utterance of their sentiments. We must endure and bear with them as incurable evils. We may try to keep out of their way, which, probably, is the better course, or we may, if we choose, resist them by argument ; but, whenever we so far lose our patience as to think of employing force, of any kind, to put them down, we come under the same condemnation which we, and all the rest of the world, have pronounced against the persecutors of Anne Hutchinson.

The political lesson taught by the proceedings in this case is, the danger of allowing a community, in its executive and legislative functions, to exercise judicial authority. The trial was conducted by the General Court, the governor presiding, and the ministers of the colony being permitted to mingle in the deliberations and proceedings. The tribunal, thus constituted, was armed with the entire political and moral power of the State, and was, for this reason, uncontrolled

and incontrollable. It was held in check by no principle of law, freed from the restraints of judicial precedents and usages, limited by no provisions of charter or constitution, and safe in going to any extremity of violence and outrage, because sure of support from the passions and the power of the whole people. Whoever reads this trial, or the trials of the Quakers, or of the reputed witches, which are very satisfactorily and fairly reported and described in this volume, will learn the infinite value of an independent judiciary, as an essential department of government, and will be convinced that it is the only safeguard of the liberty and life of the citizen.

We notice that Mr. Chandler intimates that Mrs. Hutchinson was probably employed, as an instrument and dupe, to make the disturbance she did, for the sake of promoting the political designs of the party attached to Governor (afterwards the celebrated Sir Henry) Vane. Unless he has better evidence of this than has come to our knowledge, we would suggest, whether the whole transaction is not rendered unnecessarily perplexed and entangled by such an insinuation.

One of the most curious and interesting events, in the history of society in this country, is presented in the chapter entitled "The New York Negro Plot." It occurred in 1741, fifty years after the witchcraft delusion, which has given such a peculiar notoriety to Salem, a city always at least on a level with any other in the intelligence of its population, but which, in consequence of its having happened to be the scene where the court assembled for the witchcraft trials, has ever since been most unjustly identified with popular superstition and fanaticism. We hesitate not to say, that in every particular the New York Negro Plot runs parallel with the witchcraft trials, — in the absurdity of the delusion, in the ferocity of the popular excitement, in the violence that was done to common sense, reason, and the law, and in the bloody and awful results of the proceedings. And yet the world has been willing to forget the New York Negro Plot, while every child is taught, when the name of Salem is mentioned, to associate with it the horrors and the follies of witchcraft. But the New York Negro Plot ought not to be forgotten; it teaches a much more important lesson than the witchcraft delusion. The latter illustrates the blind and destructive energy of the popular passions, under circumstances and influences, belonging to an age of comparative ignorance and superstition, and which can never again occur; while the

former illustrates the same blind and destructive energy of the popular passions, under circumstances and influences belonging to all times, and which may be repeated, perhaps will be more likely to be repeated, the more society is concentrated by the progress of civilization.

A considerable degree of ill-feeling had for some time been growing up between the white and the colored population of the city of New York. The passions of the respective parties were inflamed by frequent collisions and difficulties occurring between individuals. The public imagination, as usual, when the popular passions are excited, soon became distempered. The whole mass of accumulated fear, prejudice, hatred, and revenge, was at last kindled, as by a spark, on the utterance of the cry "Negro plot!" and the community rushed blindly into the most desperate and phrensied delusion, each individual contributing fuel to the flame. Accusations, confessions, executions, followed in quick succession. The government, the judges, the entire bar, and all classes, were swept into the excitement. No individual retained his coolness or self-possession. There was not a hand left to hold firmly aloft the scales of justice. There was not a voice to plead the cause of accused innocence. Reason was, for the time, extinguished, and every heart was perverted and hardened, by fear, and hate, and horror. Over one hundred and fifty persons were cast into prison. Four white persons were hanged. Eleven negroes were burned at the stake; eighteen were hanged, and fifty were transported into West India slavery. This whole horrible scene was an utter delusion, commencing in malice and folly, and carried through all its terrific stages by a combination of passions, such as exist, and always will exist, in every community of men, and unless controlled, and guided, and mitigated, by reason, law, and the spirit of Christian moderation, may at any time break forth and lay waste society.

It is a singular circumstance, and completes the parallelism between this transaction and the Salem witchcraft, that in each a clergyman was among the sufferers. While the negro-plot delusion was at its height, the public mind was still more distracted and shocked, and thrown into deeper consternation, by the cry of "Popery"; and the idea at once pervaded the whole community, that the Pope of Rome was at the bottom of the conspiracy. To this idea, an estimable clergy-

man, named John Ury, fell a victim. The following is the address he made, when arrived at the place of execution ;

" Fellow-Christians, I am now about to suffer a death, attended with ignominy and pain ; but it is the cup that my heavenly Father has put into my hand, and I drink it with pleasure ; it is the cross of my dear Redeemer, I bear it with alacrity, knowing that all that live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution ; and we must be made in some degree partakers of his sufferings, before we can share in the glories of his resurrection ; for he went not up to glory before he ascended mouut Calvary; he did not wear the crown of glory before the crown of thorns. I am to appear before an awful and tremendous God, a being of infinite purity and unerring justice ; a God who by no means will clear the guilty, that cannot be reconciled either to sin or sinners ; in the presence of that God, the possessor of heaven and earth, I lift up my hands, and solemnly protest, I am innocent of what is laid to my charge. I appeal to the great God for my non-knowledge of Hughson, his wife, or the creature that was hanged with them. I never saw them living, dying, or dead ; nor ever had I any knowledge or confederacy with white or black, as to any plot : and, upon the memorials of the body and blood of my dearest Lord, in the creatures of bread and wine, in which I have commemorated the love of my dying Lord, I protest that the witnesses are perjured ; I never knew them but at my trial. But for a removal of all scruples that may arise after my death, I shall give my thoughts on some points.

" First, I firmly believe and attest, that it is not in the power of man to forgive sin ; that is the prerogative only of the great God to dispense pardon for sin ; and that those who dare pretend to such a power, do, in some degree, commit that great and unpardonable sin, the sin against the holy spirit ; because they pretend to that power which their own consciences proclaim to be a lie.

" Again, I solemnly attest and believe, that a person having committed crimes that have or might have proved hurtful or destructive to the peace of society, and does not discover the whole scheme, and all the persons concerned with him, cannot obtain pardon from God. And it is not the taking any oath or oaths that ought to hinder him from confessing his guilt, and all that he knows about it ; for such obligations are not only sinful, but unpardonable, if not broken. Now, a person firmly believing this, and knowing that an eternal state of happiness or misery depends upon the performance or non-performance of the above mentioned things, cannot, will not, trifle with such important affairs.

"I have no more to say by way of clearing my innocency, knowing that to a true, Christian, unprejudiced mind, I must appear guiltless; but, however, I am not very solicitous about it. I rejoice, and it is now my comfort, (and that will support me and protect me from the crowd of evil spirits that I must meet with in my flight to the region of bliss assigned me,) that my conscience speaks peace to me. Indeed, it may be shocking to some serious Christians, that the holy God should suffer innocency to be slain by the hands of cruel and bloody persons, (I mean the witnesses who swore against me at my trial,) indeed, there may be reasons assigned for it, but as they may be liable to objections, I decline them; and shall only say, that this is one of the dark providences of the great God, in his wise, just, and good government of this lower world.

"In fine, I depart this waste, this howling wilderness, with a mind serene, free from all malice, with a forgiving spirit, so far as the Gospel of my dear and only Redeemer obliges and enjoins me to, hoping and praying that Jesus, who alone is the giver of repentance, will convince, conquer, and enlighten, my murderers' souls, that they may publicly confess their horrid wickedness before God and the world, so that their souls may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."—pp 248–251.

The most important trial, by far, in this collection, is that of John Peter Zenger, before the Supreme Court of New York, for two libels on the government. It took place on the 4th of August, 1735, James de Lancey, Chief Justice, presiding, assisted by Frederick Felipse, second justice. Governor Crosby, whose administration began in 1732, became involved in a violent and bitter controversy with the people of the Province of New York. The legislature and the Council were brought under his influence, and the higher courts of law also were so modelled as to be instruments in the hands of the government against the people. The only resource of the people was in the press. A newspaper, called "The Weekly Journal," was their organ. It was printed by John Peter Zenger, a poor, but able and spirited individual. The chief justice endeavoured in vain to prevail upon the grand jury to indict him. The Council then pronounced four of Zenger's newspapers to be "false, scandalous, malicious, and seditious libels," and ordered them to be burned by the common hangman. The order was read in the court of quarter sessions, but the magistrates would not suffer it to be entered. The sheriff caused the papers to be burned by his negro servant. Zenger was then arrested by

order of the Council, and thrown into jail. His friends procured a writ of *habeas corpus*, but the bail was put so high that he could not procure it. While he was thus lying in jail, the judges attempted again to get him indicted by the grand jury, but without success. The attorney-general then charged him by information for a misdemeanor in printing the said "false, scandalous, malicious, and seditious libels." Two popular leaders, James Alexander and William Smith, undertook the defence of Zenger, but, taking exceptions to the jurisdiction of the court, they were summarily excluded from practising in the court, and their names stricken from the roll of attorneys. This high-handed procedure of the judges amounted to a threat of destruction to any lawyer of the New York bar, who should venture to espouse the cause of Zenger. In this extremity, his friends had recourse to a remedy which proved effectual. They went to Philadelphia and engaged the services of Andrew Hamilton, a celebrated barrister, about eighty years of age. This extraordinary man is thus described by Mr. Chandler;

"Educated in England, and in practice there before coming to this country, he had a good knowledge of law as a science, and took the highest rank in his profession. His honor, integrity, and ability secured for him the respect and admiration of many who differed from him in opinion. He was an ardent friend of free and liberal institutions, and, fearless of consequences, he denounced the encroachments and usurpations of those in authority with a boldness that excited their fear and hatred, while his easy and graceful eloquence, his powers of sarcasm, and his powerful declamations, enraptured the people."

When the trial came on, Zenger had been in prison many months, and there seemed but little ground for hope that he could be rescued from the vengeance of the government. The charge was, that he had printed and published certain alleged libels. The first point to be judged was, that he did print and publish the papers; and the next, that they were libellous. The junior counsel for the defendant proposed to contest the first point, but Hamilton overruled him, and, acknowledging the printing and publication, boldly threw himself on the other point, and took the ground, that he had printed and published no more than every free-born British subject had a right to print and publish.

Mr. Chandler has given the argument of Hamilton at length.

We can assure every one, who reads it, of a rich intellectual repast. It is a magnificent specimen of forensic and judicial eloquence. In dignity and strength, in ingenuity and elegance, and in every attribute that can add force or weight to such an argument, it is scarcely surpassed. He was frequently interrupted by the attorney-general, and the chief justice endeavoured to cut him short, taking the ground, that the jury had no other duty to perform than to find the facts of the printing and publishing, which Hamilton had admitted, and that it was for the court to adjudge the libel. Upon the court's asserting this, Hamilton deliberately turned to the jury, and addressed his argument to them, showing it was their right, and privilege, and duty, to place themselves between the court and the citizen, and protect the latter against such a claim by the former. He proved that they, the jury, were the judges of the law as well as the fact, that the whole case was in their hands, and that they ought not to relinquish any part of it to the court. When we read his argument, it seems to us that, if ever the spirit of liberty was embodied in the language of man, it was on that occasion. In that argument, the sovereign power of the people, of whom the jury were the representatives, first came forth in complete manifestation, in America, perhaps we may say, in the world. The judiciary having become degraded into the tool of the other branches, Hamilton evoked from the bosom of the people, through the peaceful and legitimate medium of a jury, that great remedial and conservative power, which, in the last resort, can only be found in the people.

He concluded in the following manner, alluding it will be perceived, to his having come from another Province, and to his great age ;

" I hope to be pardoned, Sir, for my zeal upon this occasion; it is an old and wise caution, that, when our neighbour's house is on fire, we ought to take care of our own. For, though, blessed be God, I live in a government where liberty is well understood, and freely enjoyed; yet experience has shown us all, (I am sure it has to me,) that a bad precedent in one government is soon set up for an authority in another ; and therefore I cannot but think it mine, and every honest man's duty, that (while we pay all due obedience to men in authority) we ought at the same time to be upon our guard against power, wherever we apprehend that it may affect ourselves or our fellow-subjects.

"I am truly very unequal to such an undertaking on many accounts. And you see I labor under the weight of many years, and am borne down with great infirmities of body; yet, old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty if required, to go to the utmost part of the land, where my service could be of any use in assisting to quench the flame of prosecutions upon informations, set on foot by the government, to deprive the people of the right of remonstrating (and complaining too) of the arbitrary attempts of men in power. Men, who injure and oppress the people under their administration, provoke them to cry out and complain; and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and prosecutions. I wish I could say there were no instances of this kind. But, to conclude; the question before the court and you, gentlemen of the jury, is not of small nor private concern; it is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone, which you are now trying; no! it may, in its consequences, affect every freeman that lives under a British government on the main of America. It is the best cause; it is the cause of liberty; and I make no doubt but your upright conduct, this day, will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow-citizens; but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery, will bless and honor you, as men who have baffled the attempts of tyranny, and, by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbours, that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right, — the liberty, both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power, in these parts of the world, at least, by speaking and writing truth." — pp. 203–205.

The jury returned a verdict of *not guilty*, in the very teeth of an authoritative charge from the chief justice against the defendant.

The decision of the jury was received with shouts of applause. The judges threatened to imprison the promoters of such a disorderly proceeding, but the people were too much excited and entranced by the greatness of the occasion to heed the voice of authority. A son of Admiral Norris rose and called for a renewal of the shouting, which was continued, and could not be repressed. Hamilton, who would receive no pecuniary compensation for his services, was borne in triumph from the court-room. He was carried to a festive entertainment, which was repeated by the city authorities before his return to Philadelphia. The Common Council presented him with the freedom of the city, the certificate of which was

enclosed in a splendid gold box, purchased by subscription, and, as he stepped into the barge, on his departure from New York, the public sense of gratitude and admiration was expressed by a salute of artillery.

Gouverneur Morris asserted, that Hamilton's argument, and the result of the trial of Zenger, were the germ of American freedom, the morning star of our liberty. The trial took place forty years before the Revolution. Massachusetts and Virginia have indulged in an honorable contention for the glory of having first started the ball of independence. Pennsylvania and New York, on the strength of this trial,—the one having furnished the advocate, the other the jury, — may not unreasonably put in their claims for the glorious distinction.

We would suggest to Mr. Chandler to prepare a brief sketch of the life and character of Andrew Hamilton, to be placed in his Appendix to the first volume, together with the notices he has given of Stoughton, John Adams, and Josiah Quincy, Jr. He was for a great length of time a leading man in Pennsylvania in the legislative and executive departments of the government, and was long the undisputed head of the bar. Under his direction the State House was erected in the city of Philadelphia, and the square belonging to it laid out. In the month of August, 1739, four years after the trial of Zenger, he retired from the chair of the Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and from public life. His speech on the occasion is preserved by the historians. He died near the close of the summer of 1741. His son, James Hamilton, was for many years Governor of Pennsylvania, and as such received the encomiums of General (then Colonel) Washington. Andrew Hamilton, of East New Jersey, was selected in 1701 by William Penn, to be Governor of Pennsylvania, an office which he filled with great honor. We should be obliged to Mr. Chandler, if he would ascertain and inform us, whether this early governor of Pennsylvania was the ancestor of Andrew and James Hamilton. The memory of such a man as the defender of Zenger, of his origin and descendants, ought not to pass into oblivion.

Our limits do not allow us to enter upon the consideration of any of the other trials presented in the work before us. The following is the shortest of the collection, and not without interest.

"In the month of April, 1769, a brigantine, the *Pitt Packet*,

of Marblehead, was boarded as she was coming in from Europe, seven leagues from land, by a boat from the *Rose* man-of-war, the Boston station ship, then cruising in order to impress seamen. The seamen of the brigantine, four in number, determined not to be impressed, and, having provided themselves with harpoons and other weapons, they shut themselves up in the fore peak, declaring that they preferred death to slavery, and would sacrifice their lives sooner than be taken out of the ship. Panton, the lieutenant of the *Rose*, seeing the desperate determination of the men, at first endeavoured to persuade them to surrender, and at length promised that he would be content with one of their number. Finding that mild measures were of no avail, he informed them that he should make use of force, and they declared that they would resist unto death. A pistol, charged with powder, was then fired at them, which burned the face of Michael Corbett, and immediately afterwards another of the number received a shot in the arm. The seamen now became desperate, and repeatedly asserted that they would kill the first man who offered to approach them; and a man sent in by the lieutenant was considerably wounded, and retreated.

"Lieutenant Panton then declared that he would lead the way himself. Corbett warned him not to approach, and called God to witness, that, if he advanced one step towards them, he should instantly die. The lieutenant, who was a resolute and brave officer, coolly remarked, that he had seen many a brave fellow in his life, but would take a pinch of snuff and consider the matter, which, having deliberately done, he moved towards the seamen, when Corbett, agreeably to his threat, struck him with a harpoon, which cut the jugular vein. The unfortunate officer gasped out that they had taken his life, and immediately expired. The seamen continued to defend themselves, but, having provided themselves with rum, they became intoxicated and were taken to Boston. Their names were Michael Corbett, Pierce Fenning, William Courier, and John Byan.

"They were brought up before a special court of vice-admiralty, consisting of crown officers, 'commissioners for the trial of piracies, robberies, and felonies on the high seas,' which court had always proceeded without a jury. But James Otis and John Adams, counsel for the prisoners, insisted upon a trial by jury as a matter of right. The point was elaborately argued by counsel. Governor Bernard, the president of the court, was inclined to favor the trial by jury, and the King's counsel acceded to it; the only point remaining was the manner of summoning the jurors. But Hutchinson, the chief justice, who was one of the commissioners, being well satisfied

that the decision was directly against law, drew up a statement of the case, which convinced the court that they ought to proceed without a jury.

"Accordingly, on Tuesday the nineteenth of June, 1769, the trial commenced in Boston, before the following commissioners: — Sir Francis Bernard, governor of Massachusetts; John Wentworth, governor of New Hampshire; Samuel Hood, commodore and commander of his Majesty's ships; Thomas Hutchinson, lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts; Jonathan Warner and George Jaffrey, of his Majesty's Council in New Hampshire; Robert Auchmuty, judge of the court of vice-admiralty for Massachusetts; John Andrews, judge of the court of vice-admiralty for Rhode Island; Andrew Oliver, secretary of the province; Robert Trail, collector of the port of Portsmouth; John Nutting, collector of Salem; Joseph Harrison, collector of Boston.

"The trial occupied a week. The fact of the homicide was clearly proved; but it appeared that neither the lieutenant nor any of his superior officers were authorized to impress, by any warrant or special authority from the Lords of the Admiralty; and the court was unanimously of opinion, that the prisoners had a good right to defend themselves, and that they ought to be acquitted of murder, with which they were charged; and that, at common law, the killing would not have amounted to manslaughter.

"The prisoners were accordingly discharged, and a midshipman of the *Rose* was immediately arrested in an action for damages for the wound inflicted in the arm of one of them, and gave bail in the sum of three hundred pounds."—pp. 297 – 300.

ART. VIII. — 1. *The Jubilee of the Constitution; a Discourse delivered at the Request of the New York Historical Society in the City of New York, on Tuesday, the 30th of April, 1839; being the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Inauguration of George Washington, as President of the United States, on Thursday, the 30th of April, 1789.* By JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. New York: Samuel Colman. 8vo. pp. 136.

2. *An Oration on the Material Growth and Territorial Progress of the United States, delivered at Springfield, Massachusetts, on the Fourth of July, 1839.* By CALEB CUSHING. Springfield: Merriam, Wood, & Co. 8vo. pp. 32.

3. *Representative Democracy in the United States; an Address delivered before the Senate of Union College, on the 26th of July*, 1841. By Benjamin Franklin Butler. Albany: C. Van Benthuysen. 8vo. pp. 43.

It is the commonest thing in the world for great schemes to turn out great failures. The Constitution of the United States has been a splendid exception. If we were to break up to-morrow, and go back into the dismal condition from which it drew us, as it were by the hair of the head, still it would have proved a most beneficent institution; and had it accomplished but a tithe of its actual benefit, it would have perhaps fully met the average expectations of its projectors. With an uncertain future before them, — with a fair chance that its early trials would not be of peculiar hardship, — they were as far as possible from being sanguine as to its sufficiency; could they have looked but a little way into coming time, and seen in what a shaking of the political elements it was to have the training of its infancy, they could scarcely have failed to despair. Nobody was exactly suited; some for one reason, and some for its opposite, — these, because they detested a monarchy, those, because they distrusted a republic, — were all but utterly disaffected. Nothing brought about a union, as to the instrument finally matured, except the soberest "certainty of waking *woe*." With no credit abroad; no authority, that the rest of the world would treat with; public bankruptcy already incurred; private bankruptcy fast becoming universal; commerce ruined; agriculture at a stand; the administration of justice defied; the States already at feud with one another, and their citizens, — unawed by such a poor shadow of authority as confronted their discontent, — mustering for those disorders which want makes unmanageable and goes far to excuse, hardly could the condition of things be made worse by any change. What good and wise men had to do, was to arrange some compromise of their discordant opinions, and give it a fair trial, with the advantage of as much of a spirit of mutual forbearance and accommodation as they were able to diffuse from their own, through the public mind. Their part was, to do for the best, and then hope the best.

That they could not hope confidently, was only their misfortune. That, nevertheless, they deliberated diligently, ac-

commodated each other patiently, and generously addressed themselves, in their respective spheres, to recommend the fruit of their joint counsels to the public acceptance, and make it as far as possible an instrument of the public good, — this was their admirable merit. Providence is apt to smile upon labors of a disinterested wisdom, and with a most bountiful benignity did it smile upon theirs. History will remark the beautiful coincidence of the sudden establishment of social order with sufficient safeguards on this continent, just in season to watch the pompous social fabric of the older world tumbling into a sudden ruin. The little craft was just put into perfect trim, her complete suit of new gear had been strongly set up, her stout crew were posted at their stations, and the world's best pilot had grasped the wheel, just before an unlooked for hurricane swept the surface of the great deep. She was only in the skirts of the storm, but near enough, had there been any thing weak about her, to be sucked in and engulfed, like so many prouder vessels. She staggered and reeled, as it was, but she minded her helm like a beauty ; not a rope parted ; not a spar was sprung ; and presently she was seen under all sail for as prosperous a voyage as ever good fortune and good management conducted.

Mr. Adams, a younger contemporary and coadjutor of the patriots, who set the American government in motion, himself experienced in its highest trusts, and in the anxieties of its most perilous trials, looks back on its operation through half a century, to congratulate his countrymen upon the signal success of the great experiment. The Historical Society of the State of New York, having resolved to celebrate, with suitable ceremonies, the Jubilee of the Constitution, with unquestionable propriety selected the veteran statesman of New England to address them on that occasion. Mr. Adams profited by the opportunity to lay before the people of the United States some weighty comments upon the Declaration of Independence, by the Congress of 1776, and upon the Federal Constitution of 1787, which embodied and practically applied its principles. He urged, in particular, that "this Union was formed by a spontaneous movement of *the one people* of the thirteen English colonies ;" that it was by this *one people*, through their representatives, and for them, as one, that Independence was declared ; that the subsequent "Articles of Confederation," in their full recognition of the princi-

ple of state sovereignty, contained a fatal departure from the principle of the Declaration ; that the *League of States*, under those articles, was not entered into by the people, but was an act of usurpation on the part of their delegates in Congress ; that the misfortunes which followed were but the proper consequence of such an unnatural state of things, and of the adoption of such a vicious form of government ; further ;

" That the tree was made known by its fruits. That after five years wasted in its preparation, the confederacy dragged out a miserable existence of eight years more, and expired like a candle in the socket, having brought the Union itself to the verge of dissolution.

" That the *Constitution of the United States* was a *return* to the principles of the *Declaration of Independence*, and the exclusive constituent power of the people. That it was the work of the ONE PEOPLE of the United States ; and that those United States, though doubled in numbers, still constitute, as a nation, but ONE PEOPLE.

" That this Constitution, making due allowance for the imperfections and errors incident to all human affairs, has, under all the vicissitudes and changes of war and peace, been administered upon those same principles, during a career of fifty years.

" That its fruits have been, still making allowance for human imperfection, a more perfect union, established justice, domestic tranquillity, provision for the common defence, promotion of the general welfare, and the enjoyment of the blessings of liberty by the constituent *people*, and their posterity to the present day." — p. 118.

Mr. Adams concludes in the following tone of patriarchal exhortation.

" And now the future ' is all before us, and Providence our guide '

" When the children of Israel, after forty years of wanderings in the wilderness, were about to enter upon the promised land, their leader, Moses, who was not permitted to cross the Jordan with them, just before his removal from among them, commanded, that, when the Lord their God should have brought them into the land, they should put the curse upon Mount Ebal, and the blessing upon Mount Gerizim. This injunction was faithfully fulfilled by his successor, Joshua. Immediately after they had taken possession of the land, Joshua built an altar to the Lord, of whole stones, upon Mount Ebal. And there he

wrote upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, which he had written in the presence of the children of Israel; and all Israel, and their elders and officers, and their judges, stood on the two sides of the ark of the covenant, borne by the priests and Levites, six tribes over against Mount Gerizim, and six over against Mount Ebal. And he read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that was written in the book of the law.

"Fellow-citizens, the ark of *your* covenant is the Declaration of Independence. Your Mount Ebal, is the confederacy of separate State sovereignties, and your Mount Gerizim is the Constitution of the United States. In that scene of tremendous and awful solemnity, narrated in the Holy Scriptures, there is not a curse pronounced against the people upon Mount Ebal, not a blessing promised them upon Mount Gerizim, which your posterity may not suffer or enjoy, from your and their adherence to, or departure from, the principles of the Declaration of Independence, practically interwoven in the Constitution of the United States. Lay up these principles, then, in your hearts, and in your souls, — bind them for signs upon your hands, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes, — teach them to your children, speaking of them when sitting in your houses, when walking by the way, when lying down and when rising up, — write them upon the door-posts of your houses, and upon your gates, — cling to them as to the issues of life, — adhere to them as to the cords of your eternal salvation. So may your children's children at the next return of this day of jubilee, after a full century of experience under your national Constitution, celebrate it again in the full enjoyment of all the blessings recognised by you in the commemoration of this day, and of all the blessings promised to the children of Israel upon Mount Gerizim, as the reward of obedience to the law of God." — pp. 118 – 120.

Assuming a similar point of view, Mr. Cushing (now Chairman of the Representatives' Committee of Foreign Relations) addressed the citizens of Springfield, on "the Material Growth and Territorial Progress of the United States." "Material growth," though not a certain or unalloyed, is of course a very desirable good, and a legitimate and primary object of government. The questions, how great a good a given "territorial progress" of these United States may be, and under what conditions it will prove any good at all, are among the deepest which an American statesman and patriot has to weigh. The acquisition of Louisiana,

the largest item of "territorial progress" which Mr. Cushing has to exhibit, was obtained by a proceeding, which, in calling it a flagrant violation of the Constitution, we scarcely characterize in stronger language than was used in private by Mr. Jefferson himself, the great champion of the measure. Much immediate good has followed it; we hope that all the good will be permanent; though we cannot but see, that no other act of the government has treated the Constitution so much as if it were but waste paper, or gone so far towards making it so for the future. At all events, the picture which Mr. Cushing presents is a striking one to the imagination.

"At the conclusion of the War of Independence, the nominal limits of the United States were the British Provinces, as now, on the north, the Mississippi on the west, and Louisiana and Florida on the southwest and south. But the practical limits were much less. Stretched along the shores of the Atlantic Ocean were the thirteen original United States, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, which, by the Treaty of Peace, the King of Great Britain acknowledges to be free, sovereign, and independent states; that he treats with them as such, and relinquishes all claims to the government, property, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof Massachusetts, her actual limits reaching only a hundred miles inland from the sea, and Virginia, scarcely settled further, were then foremost among the States in wealth and population. New York, her rich interior yet unoccupied, was very far short of her present empire dimensions. Pennsylvania was but just proceeding to occupy the slope of the Alleghanies. The hardy pioneers of Kentucky and Tennessee, offshoots of Virginia and North Carolina, had scarcely begun to cross the mountains, and to acquire, in the long struggle with the savages around them, the qualities of courage, hardihood, gallantry, and spirit, which they have transmitted to their sons. Vermont, though not yet recognised as a separate State, had, by the patriotism of her children, secured the right to be so considered, and as such admitted in due time into the Union. Maine, known only as a portion of Massachusetts, was, in the chief part of it, an untrodden wilderness. Thus, over a space of fifteen hundred miles along the Atlantic Ocean, were the then United States scattered, covering, in comparison with the vast interior of the Continent, only as it were a riband of sea beach."—pp. 8, 9.

"The population of the United States, which in 1790 was but four millions, is now sixteen or seventeen millions. The revolutionary debt, of near eighty millions of dollars, has been wholly discharged without any sensible inconvenience to the people, and that in the face of a maritime war with France, a general war with England, conflicts with the Barbary States, many Indian wars, and the perpetual progress of most expensive establishments of education, commerce, and internal communication; while in the same period the war debts of other nations have been devouring their private substance and crippling their public energies. The annual current revenues of the United States have in the same period increased from five millions to twenty-five; our commercial tonnage from half a million to two millions; our annual foreign exports from twenty millions of dollars, to one hundred and forty millions; and our trading ships, then chiefly confined in their range to a portion of Europe and the West Indies, now dispute with those of Great Britain the palm of maritime ascendency in every quarter of the globe. Nor has our national growth in territory been less remarkable; for, straitened no longer in the narrow strip between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic Ocean, our population has swarmed into the valley of the Mississippi, occupied the region of the Lakes, possessed itself of Louisiana and Florida, and is now looking beyond the Rocky Mountains to the shores of the great Pacific Sea; and everywhere it has carried with it the laws, the institutions, the religion, the combined love of order and love of freedom, the industrial energy and activity, and the monuments of art, knowledge, and commerce, and the general civilization, which our European forefathers brought hither with them, and which, wherever their children are found, testify to the blood and the principles of the original colonists of the United States."—pp. 11, 12.

Mr. Butler, lately Attorney-general, in his recent Address at Schenectady on "Representative Democracy in the United States," glances at yet another subject, suggested by the fifty years' operation of the Federal Government, and one which it would afford us the highest satisfaction to see treated at large by so competent a pen. The judicious lover of his country not only inquires what good fruit her institutions have hitherto produced, but how they are actually operating so as to hold out happy pledges for the future. He looks not only at the wealth of the product, but at the condition of the machinery. Suppose it has wrought wonders of social prosperity; still, if it has itself meanwhile been

wearing out, or if the *primum mobile* has been wasting, — if external influences that at first affected it are exhausted, or are acting with less and still lessening force, — if experience has revealed any imperfect adjustments, from which, through the incessant friction, a derangement of the whole motion may ultimately ensue, — no facts can be matter for more solicitous concern than these. Was there, at the origin of these institutions, a generally diffused public virtue, which caused them at first to act beneficially, but which they in their turn have corrupted, or have failed to preserve? Were the principles of the Constitution at first applied by the citizen, in the discharge of his public functions, with an integrity, which the very successes it insured have at length depraved? Have majorities and demagogues been learning to elude the obstacles, piled up by the wisdom of the fathers to turn them back in their mad way towards the overthrow of justice and order? Have the conditions of public life failed to obtain for the public the most competent servants? Has office, from any cause, fallen into meaner hands, and has the standard of character and of qualification among public men been sensibly lowered? If these, or like tendencies have been developed in any dangerous degree, the retrospect of so long a time will afford some advantage for detecting them.

We do not propose at present to discuss a subject, which, treated at large, and with a due comprehension of its relations, would be treated to such excellent purpose at this period of our national history, when we are old enough to be taught by experience, and not too old to learn. One manifest sign of the times is indicated in the title of Mr. Butler's Address. No man knows better than he, what would have been the horror of the framers of the Constitution, could they have been told, that in fifty years' time, the government they were setting up with such carefully framed safeguards against what they called *democracy* would be itself called a democracy by one of its own highest officers. How would the whole hierarchy of the liberal faith have cried out with one voice against such a misnomer of their doctrine. * If Mr. Butler chooses

* Mr. Randolph said, ("Madison Papers," p. 758,) "In tracing these evils to their origin, every man had found it in the turbulence and follies of democracy; that some check, therefore, was to be sought for against this tendency of our governments;" Mr. Madison (*Ibid.*, p. 806), "Where a majority are united by a common sentiment, and have an opportunity, the

to defend his use of the word by a philological argument, we have no more to say. No doubt the government of the United States is, strictly speaking, a government of the people. The people are the one source of all power ; no officer, in any department of administration, holds his commission except, at some remove, from them ; nobody would be so witless as to pretend that there is any monarchical or aristocratic element in our constitutions. But use settles the meaning of words ; and the word *democracy* has, we conceive, been so long employed to denote a government, — if government it can be called, — in which the mass of a people works without check its momentary will, that there is a violence in applying it to a form of authority devised to avert its peculiar tendencies of evil ; and, if it is bad taste in the successive parties to underbid each other by the use of such phraseology, it is much worse in Mr. Butler, possessing as he does, a degree of sense and knowledge, to which party leaders in general make no pretension.

But this only by the way. Mr. Butler, like the other writers we have quoted, finds abundant cause of satisfaction in the results of the experiment of the Constitution. Having referred to the anxieties of the time preceding its adoption, he thus goes on ;

" These apprehensions are at length dispelled ; a Constitution, remedying the defects of the confederation and fully adequate to all the purposes of a paternal and efficient national government, is agreed on ; submitted to the people of the several States ; finally approved by them ; and put in complete and useful operation ; and all without bloodshed, violence, or confusion.

" Representative Democracy, in the United States, has now received its last, its crowning developement. In the internal policy of the several States, and over a confederacy such as the world has never seen, it dispenses the blessings of peace, liberty, and justice. To foreign nations it displays itself in forms which command universal respect. To philosophers and statesmen, it presents new subjects of study and reflection ;

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rights of the minor party become insecure ; in a republican government, the majority, if united, have always an opportunity ; the only remedy is," &c. Mr. Gerry (*Ibid.*, p. 1603) spoke of democracy as "the worst, he thought, of all political evils." In short, as Hamilton observed, "the members most tenacious of republicanism were as loud as any in declaiming against the vices of democracy."

and to down-trodden man, in every quarter of the globe, it hangs out a banner of hope, a signal of deliverance.

"The great experiment has been gloriously successful. The United States, in every stage of their career ; in peace and in war ; in the arts of social life ; in political science ; in knowledge, and morals, and religion ; have vindicated the wisdom, the safety, the beneficence of Representative Government, founded on the broadest basis of Democratic Liberty." — *Butler's Address*, pp. 15, 16.

Proceeding to "inquire into the causes which have given to democratic institutions in the United States this unexampled success," he finds the most prominent to be three in number, the first of which is, "the adaptation of the *people* to such institutions" ; and the particulars of this adaptation he discerns in two things, namely, the character of the people in respect to intelligence and virtue, and their experience, since the foundation of the colonies, in the exercise of self-government.

To the adaptation of the people to their institutions, in these all-important particulars, no doubt the success of the experiment has been mainly due, though, as to the first point, the inquiry, how far the experience of the past would authorize an augury for the future, would raise another question of fact altogether too comprehensive for us now to entertain. On the other hand, there has certainly been proved to be some *want of adaptation* on the part of the tastes and preferences of the people, to the theory of their government, such as has actually availed, in some particulars, to prevent that theory from being wrought out in practice.

The most considerable example of this is found in the arrangements for the selection of the head of the government. It was the sense of the statesmen of the day, both in the convention which framed the Constitution and in the State conventions which adopted it, that the right choice was of that extreme importance, — while, on the other hand, it would so enlist popular passion, and be attended with such dangers of turbulence, and even of revolution, — that it could not be trusted to popular assemblies, but must be devolved on some select body, whose patriotism and judgment the people might trust, from time to time, to make the right selection. When the suggestion was made of the suitableness of a choice directly by the people, it was accompanied with expressions,

not only of the extreme distrust which it was destined to meet, but even of the great uncertainty of the mover's own mind respecting it. "Mr. Wilson said, he was almost unwilling to declare the mode which he wished to take place, being apprehensive that it might appear chimerical; he would say, however, at least, that in theory he was for an election by the people." * "Mr. Mason favored the idea, but thought it impracticable; he wished, however, that Mr. Wilson might have time to digest it into his own form"; † and, this done, he afterwards characterized it as a proposal "that an act, which ought to be performed by those who know most of eminent characters and qualifications, should be performed by those who know least." ‡ Mr. Gerry said, "the popular mode of electing the chief magistrate would certainly be the worst of all; if he should be so elected, and should do his duty, he would be turned out for it." § At any rate, it found the least favor of all, and almost every other possible method was thought of instead. An election by the federal legislature, or by the higher branch of it, or by individuals taken from it by lot, or by the State legislatures, or by the State executives, — all these were expedients successively proposed and discussed, to avoid the dreaded dangers of a popular choice. The plan finally adopted, of choosing by colleges of electors, to be appointed specially for that purpose in the several States, was regarded with a favor scarcely bestowed on any other provision of the Constitution. Says the "Federalist" on this point;

"The mode of appointment of the chief magistrate of the United States, is almost the only part of the system, of any consequence, which has escaped without severe censure, or which has received the slightest mark of approbation from its opponents. The most plausible of these, who has appeared in print, has even deigned to admit, that the election of the president is pretty well guarded. I venture somewhat further, and hesitate not to affirm, that, if the manner of it be not perfect, it is at least excellent. It unites in an eminent degree all the advantages, the union of which was to be wished for.

"It was desirable, that the sense of the people should operate in the choice of the person to whom so important a trust was to be confided. This end will be answered by committing the right of making it, not to any preëstablished body, but to

* See the *Madison Papers*, p. 766. † *Ibid.*, p. 768. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 1208. § *Ibid.*, p. 1149.

men chosen by the people for the special purpose, and at the particular conjuncture.

"It was equally desirable, that the immediate election should be made by men most capable of analyzing the qualities adapted to the station; and acting under circumstances favorable to deliberation, and to a judicious combination of all the reasons and inducements that were proper to govern their choice. A small number of persons, selected by their fellow-citizens from the general mass, will be most likely to possess the information and discernment requisite to so complicated an investigation.

"It was also peculiarly desirable to afford as little opportunity as possible to tumult and disorder. This evil was not least to be dreaded in the election of a magistrate, who was to have so important an agency in the administration of the government. But the precautions, which have been so happily concerted in the system under consideration, promise an effectual security against this mischief. The choice of several, to form an intermediate body of electors, will be much less apt to convulse the community with any extraordinary or violent movements, than the choice of one, who was himself to be the final object of the public wishes. And as the electors, chosen in each State, are to assemble and vote in the State in which they are chosen, this detached and divided situation will expose them much less to heats and ferments, that might be communicated from them to the people, than if they were all to be convened at one time, in one place."—*Federalist*, pp. 424, 425.

"This process of election affords a moral certainty, that the office of president will seldom fall to the lot of any man who is not in an eminent degree endowed with the requisite qualifications. Talents for low intrigue, and the little arts of popularity, may alone suffice to elevate a man to the first honors of a single State; but it will require other talents, and a different kind of merit, to establish him in the esteem and confidence of the whole Union, or of so considerable a portion of it, as would be necessary to make him a successful candidate for the distinguished office of president of the United States."
—*Ibid.*, p. 427.

The people were to choose men of such integrity and wisdom, as to be fit to be trusted with the august office of choosing a president; and then the president would be judiciously selected, and without the inconvenience of popular agitation, and the danger of popular tumults. Such was the theory. What has been the practice? Let the mass-meetings, the processions, the song-singings of the recent elec-

tions, let the hickory-poles and log-cabins, let the pilgrimages of popular orators, some of them too men well versed in the theory of the Constitution, declare. The intervention of the electoral colleges has notoriously become a mere pageant. The people, when the election comes round, vote in their primary assemblies for a president, and not for a set of men capable of choosing a president, though this, to be sure, is the sham. The candidates for the office of elector are pledged beforehand. Maelzel's automaton, with a ballot in his wooden hand, could execute their trust as well. Inferior men have been repeatedly charged with that once venerable trust, avowedly on the ground of its being only a ministerial office. So it has been, is, and will be. If forms of the Constitution were transgressed by the present practice, there would be either a correction of the latter, or, — what is much more likely, as things now stand, — a remodelling of the former. But, as only its spirit is violated, there is no chance of a remedy on the one hand, and no occasion for reform on the other. All that remains to be said is, that either the framers of the Constitution were mistaken, or we of this age are wiser and better than the contemporaries for whom they devised a government, or else, once more, we are so far on our road to mischief.

The same remark, of a proved want of adaptation, on the part of the tastes and preferences of the people, to the theory of their government, holds good, in a considerable portion of the country, as to another point, — the control of the constituent body over the discretion of the public servants in office. With a distinctness, which occasions us unspeakable surprise in one so well acquainted with the Constitution and its history, Mr. Butler, among other "broad principles laid by the builders of our institutions, as the foundation-stones of all their political architecture," specifies this, — "that the people have the right to inspect the conduct of their representatives, *to instruct* them, from time to time, and to hold them accountable for their acts." Of course, the Constitution contemplated that the people should "inspect the conduct of their representatives," and "hold them accountable for their acts," dismissing them, if unworthy, from office, when its constitutional term should expire. The capacity of the people to choose a suitable representative, and their power to displace him again, should he prove

treacherous or incompetent, at a fixed period before he would have time enough to do much harm, — these were what the framers of the Constitution relied upon to secure to the people a legislature worthy of its trust. But where does Mr. Butler read, that they proposed further to limit the representative's discretion, or rather to divest him of discretion, and of all elevated responsibility, by making his course in office subject to be determined by "instructions from time to time"? On the contrary, one of the problems which engaged their most anxious deliberation was, how to give to the representative, especially to the representative in the branch most relied upon to contribute a character of stability to the government, a sufficient independence, while in office, of temporary influences. Even as to the most popular branch, some were for extending the term of service of its members to three years;* some would have had them elected by the State legislatures;† and others would have disqualified them for reëlection for a specified period.‡ In respect to the office of senator, some members of the Convention, and among them individuals too of the liberal school, would have had its tenure for life, or during good behaviour;§ and others, for a longer term than that finally determined on.‖ Some would have had them derive their appointment from the president,¶ some from the representatives,** some from electors chosen by the people for that purpose.†† But, whatever the particular arrangement should be, there was a general agreement upon the point, that their tenure of office should be such as would be "sufficient

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* *Madison Papers*, pp. 858, 890, &c.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 753, 756, 800, &c.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 731.

§ *Ibid*, pp. 887, 890, 960, 1019, &c.

‖ "Mr. Madison considered seven years as a term by no means too long. What he wished was, to give to the government that stability which was everywhere called for, and which the enemies of the republican form alleged to be inconsistent with its nature. He was not afraid of giving too much stability by the term of seven years. His fear was, that the popular branch would still be too great an overmatch for it. ..... He conceded it to be of great importance, that a stable and firm government, organized in the republican form, should be held out to the people. If this be not done, and the people be left to judge of this species of government by the operations of the defective systems under which they now live, it is much to be feared, the time is not distant, when, in universal disgust, they will renounce the blessing which they have purchased at so dear a rate, and be ready for any change that may be proposed to them." *Ibid.*, pp. 852, 853.

¶ *Ibid.*, 814, 1020, &c.

** *Ibid.*, pp. 732, 737, 744, &c.

†† *Ibid.*, p. 890.

to ensure their independency;"* that their number should be so constituted as to be a check against "the turbulence and follies of democracy,"† and against "the precipitation, changeableness, and excesses of the first branch."‡ And on this basis, the matter was firmly and frankly debated before the people, on the question of the adoption of the scheme by the State Conventions. Mr. Madison, in his argument, in the 62d and 63d numbers of "The Federalist," that the Senate "ought to possess great firmness, and consequently ought to hold its authority by a tenure of considerable duration," has shown how a rising politician of the year 1788, could venture to reason with the people about the way of protecting their own interests.

"Such an institution may be sometimes necessary, as a defence to the people against their own temporary errors and delusions. As the cool and deliberate sense of the community ought, in all governments, and actually will, in all free governments, ultimately prevail over the views of its rulers; so there are particular moments in public affairs, when the people, stimulated by some irregular passion, or some illicit advantage, or misled by the artful misrepresentations of interested men, may call for measures which they themselves will afterwards be the most ready to lament and condemn. In these critical moments, how salutary will be the interference of some temperate and respectable body of citizens, in order to check the misguided career, and to suspend the blow meditated by the people against themselves, until reason, justice, and truth can regain their authority over the public mind. What bitter anguish would not the people of Athens have often escaped, if their government had contained so provident a safeguard against the tyranny of their own passions? Popular liberty might then have escaped the indelible reproach of decreeing to the same citizens the hemlock on one day, and statues on the next." — *Federalist*, pp. 394, 395.

"Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter?" Yet so it was, that, in a strikingly short time after the Virginia school of politicians represented by Mr. Madison had been in the ascendant, there succeeded another, much wiser or more foolish, as the event may prove; and now, in no small number of the States, a vital, we were about to say, — and so it was considered by the framers, — at

* *Madison Papers*, pp. 732, 758, &c. † *Ibid.*, pp. 758, 887, &c.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 1018.

all events, a prominent provision of the Constitution is constantly nullified in spirit without any departure from the forms. By a scarcely pleasant fiction, a legislature chooses a Federal Senator to serve for six years, when all the world knows that he is chosen only to serve till such time as the same legislature or another shall please to *instruct* him out. In the theory of the Constitution, a Federal Representative holds his place for two years, a Senator for six. In practice,— since a Representative will hardly give unpardonable offence before one session has expired, and then only another session remains before the regular time comes to supersede him, so that to invite him to resign would be to incur the trouble of an extraordinary popular election for a small benefit, — in the practice of some States, the Representative is already the more permanent officer of the two. He holds his place for two years ; the Senator, during the State legislature's pleasure. It is as if, after all the solemn parade of discussion of the subject, the Constitution had said, the State legislatures shall choose, not every six years, but as often as they shall be pleased to choose. And, unless public opinion is brought into greater sympathy with the Constitution, the same abuse will continue in the same quarters, as long as candidates for the Senate can be found, whose opinions or whose consciences will allow them to take the official oath of fidelity to the Constitution, while they hold themselves ready to abandon on demand the high conservative function, which the Constitution has committed to that department of authority.

But we must stop where we are. We were attracted by the title of Mr. Butler's pamphlet, and by the reputation of its author, to express a few hasty thoughts upon matters which he treats ; but we have already exhausted our little space, and other topics hinted at by him so open before us, as to forbid the attempt to pursue them at present. Mr. Butler concludes his address with a judicious course of remarks upon the necessity of " a wise internal regimen, to render representative bodies efficient," which well deserves the careful consideration of our sages now in Congress assembled.

Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Life and Times of* Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, *or* Red-Jacket; *being the Sequel to the History of the Six Nations.* By William L. Stone. New York and London: Wiley & Putnam. 1841. 8vo. pp. 484.

Ecce iterum Crispinus! Behold the indefatigable editor again on the trail of the Indian, whom he follows on the war-path, and to the wigwam and the council-fire, eager to chronicle his deeds and speeches, and to preserve, for the benefit of posterity, his character and euphonious appellations! The zeal and good faith with which he has prosecuted the task, we have no doubt will be duly appreciated by the public. The present volume, which appears with a luxury of paper, typography, and engravings, that the *dilettanti* of book-making might well approve, is the second of a series devoted to the history and character of the "Six Nations." The "Life of Brant" was the first, and we learn from the author's Preface, that two other works are to follow; the one upon the Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, so long the agent of the English government with these tribes, and the other to contain the early history of the Confederacy, from the discovery of America down to the year 1735. The undertaking of Mr. Stone is a laudable one, and has thus far been carried on with good success. It was high time, indeed, that the memorials of the race should be sought out and preserved; for, as the ocean of civilized life rolled westward, the few bubbles that marked the spot where this once large and powerful league of red-men went down amidst its waters, were fast breaking and disappearing from the surface. The last of their tiny reservations of land, the poor remnant of the broad hunting-grounds, that once covered the territory of several States, is just slipping from their grasp, and a new home in the wilds west of Missouri is offered to the handful of Indians, who are now the only representatives of the "United People."

The immediate hero of this volume, in point of character and respectability, was not a very promising subject for the historian. In fact, the great Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, for a long time the most distinguished sachem of the Six Nations, was, as his biographer frankly owns, an arrant coward. His general reputation among his own people may be inferred from a

single fact. One of his numerous *sobriquets*, the "Cow-killer," was conferred upon him in commemoration of his adroitness on a certain occasion, when, all his brother sachems and *braves* being absent on a war-path, he consulted his safety and comfort by staying at home, and profited by the absence of the others, to kill and convert to his own use one of his neighbour's cows. As he was of humble parentage, even in the estimate of his own people, it appears strange, at first, that such a knave should ever attain the high station, which he held among his countrymen. The secret of his success was precisely that which explains the rise of many a rascally politician among the white men, — namely, great cunning and inordinate loquacity, — or extraordinary eloquence, as his biographer terms it, and we will not quarrel about the appellation. Red-Jacket was, in fact, the greatest Indian orator of his time. In this volume are collected all his speeches, that were recorded at the time of delivery ; and they are copious and authentic enough to afford a fair means of estimating Indian eloquence. With all our previous wishes to think well of it, we confess, that it is difficult to say much in its praise. It consists usually of a verbose and studied harangue, which has neither the charm of simplicity, the energy of passion, the conclusiveness of argument, nor the richness of imaginative power. The red-man speaks in tropes and images, not because his fancy is rich, but because his language is poor. Possessing few general and abstract terms, he is forced to express the corresponding ideas by words, of which the primary signification is particular and concrete. That he is driven to this expedient by necessity, and not by choice, is evident from the want of variety in his figures ; for a rich and natural flow of imagination would dictate a constant change in this respect. But his symbols are invariable. The belt of wampum and the calumet are the constant expressions of amity, the council-fire always betokens negotiation, and the hatchet is the perpetual symbol of war. When roused by injury or affront, the speech of the savage is often vivid and picturesque, for passion is the mother of poetry and eloquence, and the Indian can feel as well as the white man. But he is apathetic by constitution, and vindictive rather than passionate. Bursts of anger are infrequent with him, though, when they do occur, the pithy sayings in which they find vent have ten times as much natural force and beauty as the rigmarole speeches, which are hammered out at leisure for formal occasions.

As a leader of his tribe, Red-Jacket displayed occasionally much shrewdness and energy. The encroachments of the whites were steadfastly resisted by him, and, on more than one

occasion, he appears to have beaten them at their own game. He was a thorough savage, yielding to none but the evil effects of civilization, to which, in fact, he owed his death; for, although he attained the age of seventy-eight years, his constitution was shattered by habits of intoxication, or he might probably have been alive at this hour. His pagan faith he retained to the last, many of his sharpest contests at words being with the missionaries, who made many converts among his people, but tried in vain to convince the chief. Mr. Stone's book gives a clear account of the principal incidents in his career, although they do not occupy much space, for most of his life fell in quiet times. The greater part of the volume is occupied with his speeches, and with tracing the rapid decay of the race to which he belonged. Though it might have been condensed into a smaller compass, the work is generally well executed, and forms an acceptable addition to our stores of Indian history and biography.

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2. — *The Mnemosynum; intended to aid, not only Students and Professional Men, but every other Class of Citizens, in keeping a Record of Incidents, Facts, &c. in such a Manner that they may be recalled at Pleasure; with an Introduction, showing its Benefits, and its Manner of being kept.* By John F. Ames. Utica, N. Y.: Orren Hutchinson. 1840. 4to.

Those who are accustomed to aid their memories, whether in prosecuting studies, or in transacting business, by writing out references, citations, and incidents, may derive considerable aid from Mr. Ames's Common-Place Book. The plan is a very simple one, and the author thinks, that it possesses considerable advantages over those formerly in use. It consists of little more than an alphabetical index, with a mode of making the entries in a very abridged form. Convenience and economy seem to be equally consulted in this plan, by which no space is lost, and an entry is quickly made, and may be found again with ease. Mr. Locke considered the proper arrangement of such a book of so much importance, that he contrived a scheme for disposing extracts, hints, and references in due form and order, which was published, and we believe that many persons have found it convenient and useful. Two other plans have been formed by individuals in this country, and have met with considerable favor. We know nothing from experience of the defects of these contrivances, but Mr. Ames finds fault with them, and believes that he has invented one, which is free

from all serious objections. Of course, its merits can be thoroughly known only by trial, and we believe, that those who are in want of a Common-Place Book cannot do better than to make an experiment with the present volume.

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3. — *Elements of Plane Geometry, for the Use of Schools.* By N. Tillinghast. Boston: Saxton & Pierce. 1841. 12mo. pp. 96.

It is no easy task to present the elements of mathematical science in a form suited to the comprehension of the youthful mind. Every thing depends on the first impression that is made, and the tyro too frequently finds, in his first lessons in Geometry, an array of difficulties, which inspire him with a permanent dislike for the study. There is a *pons asinorum* to be passed at the outset; and the perplexities there encountered often unfit the traveller for the remainder of the journey. But, if aid be seasonably and judiciously afforded at this crisis, a pleasant path lies before the wayfarer, and he passes on rejoicing. To speak without metaphor, the abstractions on which all geometrical science is founded, cannot easily be formed by the untrained mind; and the mode of reasoning is so peculiar, so unlike any thing with which the pupil is familiar, that he is tempted to reject it at once as fantastic and unintelligible. But, if his good genius aids him at this pinch, it is very probable, that he will conceive a strong liking for mathematical studies, as more regular, complete, and satisfactory than any other. We welcome, therefore, any attempt to remove these preliminary difficulties, and to open an easy and commodious path into the pleasant region, which lies beyond. Persons who are deeply versed in the science are not likely to succeed in paving the way for others. Habit has rendered the peculiarities of the subject familiar to them, and they pass over the ground with so much ease to themselves, that they can hardly conceive of the obstacles which impede the progress of learners. A practical teacher will prepare a better introduction to the elements of geometry, though he may never have pushed his own inquiries into the awful depths of the transcendental calculus.

Mr. Tillinghast's book seems to be excellently well adapted to his purpose, that of furnishing a pleasant and easy preface to geometrical knowledge, which may place within the student's reach all the truths of frequent application, and facilitate his future progress, if he should have leisure or inclination to

pursue the study. A few of the more difficult propositions, which form no necessary part of the chain of reasoning, are omitted, and the rigor of demonstration in some instances is softened. But enough is retained to preserve the mathematical character of the work, and to make the pupil familiar with the method and aim of the geometer. We heartily commend the work tot he attention of parents and teachers.

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4. — *The Book of the Indians; or Biography and History of the Indians of North America, from its First Discovery to the Year* 1841. By Samuel G. Drake, Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen, &c. &c. Eighth Edition, with large Additions and Corrections. Boston: Antiquarian Bookstore. 1841. 8vo. pp. 708.

This bulky octavo contains a greater amount of valuable materials relating to the history of the North American Indians, than can be found elsewhere in print. The author has labored with a rare devotion to his subject, and to his industry and patient researches the public are indebted for the preservation of numerous old but faithful memorials respecting tribes of the Aborigines, many of which are already extinct. The day cannot be far distant, when the last of these races, of pure blood, will vanish from the earth, and then the toil of the patient chronicler, who slowly collects and preserves the vestiges of their existence, who patches together the torn pages of their annals, will be duly appreciated. The peculiar taste of an antiquary has somewhat modified the results of Mr. Drake's historical inquiries, and many old and curious pamphlets and engravings have contributed to the illustration of the volume now before us. The favor of the public has rewarded the perseverance and assiduity of the writer. This is the eighth edition of the book, or rather the eighth period of publishing a work, which successive alterations and additions have transformed from a modest duodecimo into this tome of goodly size. Mr. Drake has acted with good judgment in bringing the history down to the present day. Our own times are an eventful period for the few redmen who still remain within our borders, and the vicissitudes, through which they are called to pass, should be chronicled at the instant, or their rapidity and evanescent character will baffle the researches of a future generation. The history of the Cherokees and the Seminoles during the past ten years is full of interest, and no fear of wounding the feelings of individuals, or

of rousing the jealousy of party spirit, ought to deter the faithful annalist from treasuring up the materials, on which posterity will found its impartial judgment. That the writer should extend his full sympathy to the Indians, and constitute himself in some manner their champion, is natural, but there is no undue warmth in the expression of his opinions.

The work is divided into five books, treating of Indian antiquities, manners, and customs; of the earlier and later history of the New England tribes; of the Indians in the Southern States; and of the Iroquois and certain other tribes in the West. In this edition, the last three books have been greatly enlarged, the additions amounting to more than a hundred pages. The volume also contains a valuable catalogue of all the tribes and nations, which have existed, or are known to exist, within the limits of the United States, and particulars are given, so far as they could be obtained, respecting their numbers and places of residence. The plan of the work hardly required that all the materials should be digested into an orderly narrative, but the inconvenience of an imperfect arrangement is in great part obviated by a full Index.

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5. — *The Connexion between Taste and Morals;* Two Lectures by Mark Hopkins, D. D., President of Williams College. Second Edition. Boston: Tappan & Dennet. 8vo. pp. 63.

President Hopkins writes with facility and correctness on a subject, in which he appears to feel a strong interest, as he commends it with earnestness to the serious consideration of others. There is nothing very original in his views, and the expression of them is not remarkable for point or eloquence. But the style is pleasing and ornate, the moral sentiments are elevated and generous, and the opinions are those of a pure and conscientious mind. Perhaps the remarks would appear more definite and satisfactory, if the nature and limits of the subject were stated with greater precision. Taste and morals are words of rather loose and comprehensive signification, and what is meant by a connexion between them does not appear at the first view. The lecturer intends to prove, that what is immoral in its tendency is also offensive to good taste, and that the principles of criticism must be governed by the dictates of conscience. The cultivation and improvement of the taste must tend to purify the feelings, and to strengthen the impulses to virtue. Here is an important truth; but the application of it

requires discrimination and sound judgment, that works of art may not be judged upon narrow and bigoted principles, or homely and even repulsive virtue be deprived of its just due.

President Hopkins is in some danger of committing the former error, when he draws so wide a distinction between a taste for the fine arts and for the works of nature; when he depreciates the cultivation of painting, sculpture, architecture, and poetry, because they are all liable to great abuse, because they often pander directly to vice, because the pleasures received from them too frequently are of a *sensuous* character, and of short duration, because they have flourished among corrupt and degraded nations, and because the enjoyment of them is necessarily confined to a few, and often becomes a ground of pride and silly ostentation. Surely, these arts cover so much ground in the proper domain of taste, that if the moral feelings be arrayed in stern opposition to them, the proposition which our lecturer endeavours to establish must be abandoned at once, and the monitions of conscience must wage perpetual and uncompromising war with the pleasures of the imagination. A far wiser proceeding would be, to subject the nature and influence of the arts to a close analysis, and to show thereby, that the elements, having a corrupt and debasing tendency, are also offensive to good taste, and detract from the pleasing effect of the whole. To argue against the use of a thing from its possible abuse is but poor reasoning in ethics, and it amounts to positive absurdity in the province of taste and criticism.

The sweeping censure, which our author casts upon novel-reading is quite as ill-judged as his reprobation of a taste for art. All works of fiction cannot be condemned, without discrediting all exercise of the imagination, and stinting the mental appetite to a meagre diet on matters of fact. No education can be complete and generous, which thus cramps the faculties, and lessens the natural endowments, of man. The sternest morality, the keenest sense of duty, may find support and confirmation in the wonder-working pages of Shakspeare and Scott.

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6 — *Amenities of Literature.* By J. D'Israeli. In Two Volumes. New York: I. & H. G. Langley. 1841. 12mo. pp. 405 and 461.

With no extraordinary intellectual powers, Mr. D'Israeli, Senior, has furnished several of the most entertaining and popular works in contemporary literature. He seems to possess a

tact, or instinct, for the collection of racy literary anecdotes, with no uncommon power to appreciate or present philosophical views of literature, as an exponent of the progress of the human mind. But everybody reads him. His "Quarrels of Authors," his "Calamities of Authors," his "Curiosities of Literature," and his "Amenities of Literature," have carried his name, as an industrious and sagacious collector, wherever the English language is studied.

The present work is more elaborate and valuable than any of its predecessors. It consists of separate researches, which Mr. D'Israeli has been making, for many years past, into the history of the English vernacular literature; a subject as magnificent as the most ambitious scholar could desire, but which none but a scholar of rare powers, a Schlegel or a Hallam, should dare to attempt. Mr. D'Israeli has been prevented by blindness from prosecuting his original design; but the contributions he has made, in this work, are very curious and valuable. His sketches of the early English literature, of the poets contemporary with and subsequent to Chaucer, particularly, are highly interesting, and filled with details that to most readers will be entirely new. They will be surprised at what he tells them of the immense mass of old English poetry, — of epics and romances in verse, compared with which, the Iliad, as to length, is a trifle, — still lying unpublished, in the British collections. There is work enough for English scholars to do, to draw out these hidden treasures of their vernacular literature, and to illustrate them with suitable commentaries. This they must do, or submit to the disgrace of lingering far behind their great literary neighbours, the scholars of Germany and France. The men of letters in these two nations are enthusiastically devoted to the labor of bringing to light, explaining, and polishing the elder monuments of their native literature. And their labors are rapidly and surely laying the foundations of a new historical and poetical literature; and the materials out of which its forms are to be wrought by the genius of a coming age, the able and industrious scholars of the present are intensely occupied in drawing from the obscure or buried treasures of the past.

We hope the work of D'Israeli may have its effect in stirring up the scholarship of Britain to engage more ardently in this great preparation. Why should not the leisure of academic life, at the two wealthy universities, be turned to more account? What more appropriate sphere of intellectual toil could the accomplished men, who hold the well-endowed fellowships of those ancient seats of English learning, desire, than to illustrate the noble and abundant literature of

the mother tongue? If a man deserves to be made a bishop in the English church because he has edited a Greek tragedy, he ought to be made something more, — an archbishop at least, — for a critical edition of an ancient English epic.

Though Mr. D'Israeli's book is entertaining and valuable, it cannot be said to be well written. He has no great command of English style. He has no glow and eloquence of language; his phraseology is pinched and painful. He has nothing of the tumultuous copiousness, that foams and flashes through the novels of his son. Very frequently his language is deformed by awkward expressions, and sometimes by violations of the English idiom. He has declared open war against the purists, and makes new words, — *neologisms*, he calls them, — without the slightest fear of criticism before his eyes. This he often does when there is no necessity, even when the old words would be a great deal better. But these are but faults of a work which deserves, on the whole, high praise. We regret that the American publishers were not more careful to have the proof-sheets well read. There are many typographical errors, which deform the page and offend the reader's eye, and which a little labor would have avoided. A book that is worth reprinting at all, is worth printing correctly.

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7. — *A Complete Family Registration. Part I. Containing Charts, and Directions for Registering, on a New and Simple Plan, the Birth, Marriage, and Death of the several Members of the Family, and for Ascertaining and Exhibiting at once their Connexions, Relative Situation, Heirs at Law, Ancestors, Descendants, and Generation. Part II. Containing Forms and Suggestions for Registering other Particulars, proper or useful to be retained in Remembrance, relative to every Member of any Family, from which a Particular Biography or History of any Individual or Family may be easily Compiled.* By Lemuel Shattuck, Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, &c. &c. Boston: W. D. Ticknor. 4to. pp. 300.

Mr. Shattuck is entitled to the thanks of those who value works of this description, both for the undertaking, and for its successful accomplishment. The Register is divided into two parts. The first contains various tables for family registrations, with directions as to the manner of filling them up. They extend through six generations in the direct line, both paternal and maternal, with a blank space for the name of each

ancestor ; placing the name of the individual who registers as the first in the ascending line. There are also tables the reverse of these, in which the common ancestor is taken as the starting point, and the successive generations follow on and widen out in their regular order. Thus may be exhibited at a glance, and in a very compact form, the whole of the paternal and maternal line, for as many generations as the individual may have the means of inserting. Then follow other and more particular forms for each parent, in which are to be entered the name, time, and place of birth, marriage, and death, the age, residence, &c.; with easy and apt references to the blank leaves in the Second Part, that are intended for more minute records of the same kind, for family and personal sketches, anecdotes, and other matters, that may be deemed worthy of preservation. The references from generation to generation in both branches, and to each member in any particular branch, are simple and comprehensive, and the precise *locality* of each is at once seen by the figures placed against his name.

The Second Part contains what may be called *family statistics.* It has convenient tables, designed to embrace the items and amount of personal and family expenses ; sickness, its kind and duration ; the physical developement and social condition of each member ; the annual income, and the general sources from which it is derived ; with sundry other matters relating to domestic economy and arrangement, of profit to any who may give heed to them. In this way, with careful industry, a vast amount of information may be garnered up, valuable to the individual, and of importance in the respective generations of the family. Some of it would be of more general moment ; especially what relates to diseases, which might thus be traced, in their various phases, through successive periods ; so that an accurate discrimination could be made between the hereditary and particular malady ; between its first appearance and its reproduction ; in its simple forms, and in its varied combinations.

Mr. Shattuck has given very plain and full directions for using both parts of his work ; and has accompanied them with some earnest and judicious observations, not in our opinion exaggerated, touching the importance and interest of an accurate register ; important frequently in matters of property and otherwise ; of interest to every man and all of his line, at all times. There will be many, as there have been many, to cry out against the idea of registering such facts, as an unprofitable business, fit only for musty antiquaries ; and they will express surprise, that any thought or attention should be wasted upon such " vain questions of endless genealogies." With such

views we have no sympathy. The pursuit is commendable, and the results have their use. A regard for ancestry is not a factitious thing. It is implanted as a good element, and of potent influence upon character, to excite virtuous energy in the contemplation of the lives of those whose blood courses through our veins ; and not as a matter of family pride, to be fostered and pampered, and to make the heart cold.

We are glad, therefore, that a plan has been devised so perfectly simple, and at the same time capable of being extended to any number of generations without marring its character. Notwithstanding its simplicity, the work is evidently the result of thought and careful contrivance, and will overcome the difficulty experienced by many in devising charts that would be at the same time plain, comprehensive, and of easy reference. Doubtless many, who have scarcely hitherto given a thought to the subject, will be induced to adopt the author's suggestions, and set themselves to the task of filling up their family charts. Indeed, we have already been amused in seeing some of our friends, who to this time have been guiltless of any genealogical *rabies*, becoming inoculated at the first sight of the book, and busily engaging themselves in laying the foundation of their own Family Registers.

There is much weight in the suggestion of Mr. Shattuck, as to the increased importance of keeping registers in New England, from the fact, that the old system of registration in the town books is very generally neglected. Had this formerly been the case, but little of this knowledge would now be preserved ; certainly but little having any claim to accuracy. But, thanks to the old Puritans, our records show that the law was once regarded ; and the town books are the valuable and authentic sources from which we derive *great store* of genealogical information ; to such an extent, indeed, that scarcely any one of New England descent, of full blood, can fail, with proper industry, to trace his whole line, from the first migration of his ancestors.

While therefore it would be well, could the old law be strictly enforced, — which we do not expect, as the tendency of the age is all the other way, and reverence for law is not on the increase, — the appearance of this convenient manual, by Mr. Shattuck, will do much, we trust, towards preserving for the future, whatever is within our own time, as well as the goodly treasures of the past.

8. — *Elementary Geology.* By Edward Hitchcock, LL. D., Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College, Geologist to the State of Massachusetts, Member of the American Philosophical Society, of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Academy of Natural Sciences, &c. Second Edition. With an Introductory Notice, by John Pye Smith, D. D., F. R. S., and F. G. S., Divinity Tutor in the College at Homerton, near London. Amherst, Massachusetts : J. S. & C. Adams. 12mo. pp. 346.

We have expressed, in a former number of this Journal, the high opinion we entertain of this work ; * and we are glad to perceive, from its very rapid sale, and its introduction, as a text-book, into many of our colleges, that the public are not insensible to its merits. The second edition contains some valuable additions ; the most important of which relate to the recent investigations respecting Glaciers and Glacial Action, derived from the splendid work of Agassiz on these subjects, and from several papers lately read before the London Geological Society. These results are of great value, from the light they shed upon some of the most difficult questions in Geology ; particularly on the phenomena of erratic bowlders, drift, moraines, and the marks of violent mechanical action often found on the surface of large masses of solid rock.

We are unwilling to forego a fair opportunity to express the satisfaction which we, in common with all who have enjoyed the same privilege, have derived from the very able and interesting course of lectures on Geology, recently delivered in Boston, by Mr. Lyell, the distinguished English Geologist, before the Lowell Institute. He came to this country under some peculiar disadvantages as a scientific lecturer. His fame had preceded him, and naturally raised expectations which could scarcely fail to be embarrassing, and certainly were difficult to fulfil. We can hardly speak of him, therefore, with higher commendation than in saying, that these expectations have not been disappointed. The profound stillness and attention of his crowded audiences, attested the deep interest he inspired in his sublime subject ; and we regard it as honorable to them, on the other hand, that composed, as they were, of individuals of very various conditions and degrees of intelligence, they evinced so just an appreciation of his instructions. We are

* *North American Review*, Vol. LII. pp. 103 *et seq.*

gratified to learn that the benefit is to be extended to the city of Philadelphia, so distinguished for its scientific taste and attainments ; and we venture to express the hope, that this may not be our last opportunity of listening to the eminent men of science, whose labors confer glory on our mother country.

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9. — *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Classic Poets. Designed principally for the Use of Young Persons at School and College.* By Henry Nelson Coleridge, Esq., A. M., Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Part I. Containing 1. General Introduction. 2. Homer. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1842.

This book has been several years before the public, and its popularity has been commensurate with its distinguished merit. We notice it now, principally, to call attention to a new American edition, which appears in a form worthy of the contents of the work, a commendation which could hardly be bestowed upon the Philadelphia edition, which, too, was defaced by many errors, especially in the Greek quotations. The work is principally devoted to the poetry of Homer, the first thirty-six pages, however, being devoted to a general Introduction on the spirit of Greek literature, written with great beauty, eloquence, and discrimination. The remarks on the distinction between Fancy and Imagination, and on the passion of love, are marked by equal precision of thought and richness of style. The subject of the Homeric poetry, to which the greater part of the volume is devoted, is admirably discussed. There is ample learning, without pedantry or ostentation, and good sense, good taste, and scholar-like elegance of style. The various theories on the origin of the Homeric poems are stated with clearness and distinctness. The manifold beauties of the Iliad and Odyssey are developed with critical sagacity, and with a warmth of sensibility, which never becomes overstrained or extravagant. We meet on every page with evidence, that the author has not confined his reading to the classics, but that the beautiful creations of modern genius are not less familiar to him than those of antiquity. As he has treated the Homeric poetry so well, we regret that he has not fulfilled the promise which he partly makes in his Advertisement, to continue these Introductions through the whole body of Greek classical poetry. A treatise on Greek dramatic poetry, written in the same spirit, we should value highly and greet with much pleasure.

10. — *An Elementary Treatise on Algebra, for the Use of Students in High Schools and Colleges.* By THOMAS SHERWIN, A. M., Principal of the English High School in Boston. Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey. 1842. 12mo. pp. 300.

IF the demand for elementary mathematical books is always to be inferred from the supply, the inhabitants of the Northern States may well be deemed a *calculating* people, in a better sense than that in which the epithet is sometimes applied to them. Numerous text-books on Algebra alone have issued from the press since President Webber's "Course of Mathematics," for a considerable period almost exclusively used in the colleges of New England, gave place to translations from French works. Since that time there has been a gradual advance in this department of education. Better text-books have been introduced, the course of study has become more extensive, and the methods of instruction more thorough and accurate.

Professor Farrar of Cambridge, and the late lamented Warren Colburn of Lowell, deserve to be gratefully remembered as the pioneers of this important reform. Nor does it detract from their claims to gratitude, that, through the aid furnished by them, and in the natural progress of improvement, works better suited than theirs to the purposes of instruction, have been since prepared. Experience has shown, that the Algebra of Euler and that of Lacroix, superior as they are to those which they supplanted, are, notwithstanding, in many parts, ill adapted to the capacities of the young; and that the inductive method, adopted by Colburn, cannot, in an exact science like Algebra, be advantageously used to so great an extent as it was by him. Most of the more recent treatises on Algebra, designed for the higher order of our literary institutions, seem to us to be too difficult for a large proportion of learners. Nothing tends so much to discourage and prevent mental effort on the part of the pupil, as the constant occurrence of obstacles which he cannot surmount. Every difficulty extrinsic to the science itself, whether arising from faulty arrangement, obscure and imperfect explanations, wide chasms in processes of reasoning, or any other cause, should be carefully guarded against. General principles should be set in as clear a light as possible, and the pupil be made perfectly familiar with one before advancing to another. It is the neglect to do this, which, more than any other cause, renders mathematical studies distasteful and almost useless to no inconsiderable pro-

portion of students in our colleges. The clear perception of truth is always grateful to the mind, and this source of interest alone can safely be relied on to attract and secure the attention of the young, and inspire them with a love of science for its own sake, the only adequate incentive to laborious and profound study. No fears need exist lest their minds should not be sufficiently tasked. Ample scope for their powers will be found in the application of general principles to particular cases, and in mastering the long and abstract demonstrations of the more difficult parts of the science.

Applying the principles just laid down to Mr. Sherwin's treatise, we do not hesitate to say, that it possesses, in an uncommon degree, all the requisites of a good text-book. He is evidently a close observer of the mental operations of the young, and intimately acquainted with the difficulties which they meet with in the study of Algebra. With an intimate knowledge of their wants, which is hardly less important as a qualification for the task he has undertaken, than an accurate acquaintance with the science itself, he unites uncommon skill in communicating the exact information needed, in the precise form in which it is most readily apprehended by them. The difficulties which will be met with in Mr. Sherwin's book, in understanding the principles of Algebra, are inherent in the subject itself, not dependent on his mode of treating it ; and these, together with the numerous examples for practice which the work contains, will abundantly task the learner's powers. The author manifests a familiar knowledge of his subject, and his treatise is characterized throughout by sound judgment in the selection and arrangement of its materials, by neatness and precision of expression, and, above all, by a skilful adaptation to the capacities and wants of the class of learners for whom it is designed.

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11. — *Youth ; or, Scenes from the Past, and other Poems.* By William Plumer, Jr. Boston : Little & Brown. 1841. pp. 144.

The poems in this volume are chiefly sonnets. A few short pieces in other forms are intermingled. They are a sort of poetical history of the author's life, delineating successively the "scenes of the past," through the various stages of childhood, schoolboy days, entering college, college life and its transitions, graduation, and so on. We opened the volume with some misgivings. Sonnets are not generally the most attrac-

tive reading ; even the best of those of Petrarch himself. We have generally been obliged to take them in homœopathic doses. The form of the sonnet is too artificial for our free and bold language easily to yield to ; the necessity of confining the thought within a certain specified number of lines, and, — when the strict rules of the sonnet are adhered to, — of arranging the rhymes in a particular order, is too much like a strait jacket for the "undoubted liberties" of the English Muse. But Mr. Plumer's book is exceedingly pleasing. His language is easy, flowing, and pure. He never transcends the boundaries of good taste. The poetry is not of a high or brilliant order ; but it breathes a pure and gentle spirit, and shows a refined sensibility to the beauties of nature, the charms of literature, and the best feelings of the heart. Its metrical structure is correct and harmonious. The descriptions that here and there occur are delicately and elegantly drawn ; the reflections are well expressed; and the imagery is all of a poetical character. As a fair specimen of our poet's skill, we may take two sonnets on Shakspeare.

I.

"I am the king himself, —
Ay, every inch a king." LEAR.

"Would that my verse were worthier, while I sing
Thy praise, O Shakspeare! so thine ear might lend
No unpleased audience, while my numbers blend
Thy wood notes wild, with sounds that faintly ring
From feebler harps. Thou, e'en in wildest mood,
Art still to nature true, thy mind imbued
With inbred wisdom: not earth's sagest pen
More true to life, than thy pervading ken,
That glanced o'er earth, and all its movements viewed.
The many-branching maze of human thought
To thee lay open ; thy keen eye had caught
Each subtile turn, and all its paths pursued ;
Till highest truths, in richest fancy dressed,
Lived in each thought, and all thy soul possessed.

II.

"When he speaks,
The air, a chartered libertine, is still ;
And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears,
To steal his sweet and honeyed sentences." HENRY V.

"Not greatly did he err, the priest, who said
His Bible, and thy page, to him sufficed,
Shakspeare! for knowledge ; other books he prized,
But these were peerless ; these he daily read
For truths, divine and human ; well advised
That wisdom here, as at the fountain head,
Her pure streams poured, her richest verdure spread.

Bright child of fancy! sporting on the verge
Of utmost sense, 't is thine, at will, to stray
Familiar through all bounds, nor lose thy way;
Or, haply lost, yet quickly to emerge
From seeming darkness to unclouded day;
Broad as man's nature, thy capacious soul
Surveyed all worlds, and harmonized the whole."–pp. 98, 99.

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12. — *Notes on the Use of Anthracite in the Manufacture of Iron. With some Remarks on its Evaporating Power.* By Walter R. Johnson, A. M., Civil and Mining Engineer; Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy in the Medical Department of Pennsylvania College; late Professor of Mechanics and Natural Philosophy in the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia; Member of the National Institute, for the Promotion of Science; of the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia; of the Association of American Geologists, &c., &c. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1841. 12mo. pp. 156.

Professor Johnson has made himself favorably known by his able contributions to various scientific publications, and by the laborious and valuable experiments which he conducted as Chairman of a Committee of the Franklin Institute, at the expense of the government of the United States, on the strength of different kinds of iron, and of iron at different temperatures, and on the latent heat of steam. The present treatise exhibits evidence of good taste, sound judgment, careful investigation, and no mean qualifications for original scientific research. The subject which it discusses is one of great importance. Iron, intrinsically the most valuable of metals, is consumed to an immense extent; and from the expansion of long-established branches of manufactures, and the rapid multiplication of the uses to which it is applied, its consumption is constantly increasing. There is no reason to doubt that the progress of civilization and of the useful arts will create new demands for it, as vast and as little foreseen, as that which has arisen from the invention of the railroad. So intimately is iron connected with the physical well-being of individuals and the advancement of society, that the improvement of its quality and the reduction of its cost may justly be regarded as important public objects. Viewed in this light, the act passed by the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, in the year 1836, to encourage attempts to substitute mineral

coal for charcoal, the fuel which has heretofore been used in that State in the manufacture of iron, and of which the supply must constantly diminish as the forests disappear, was a most judicious measure. The objects contemplated by it have been completely achieved. Anthracite is now used with success in Pennsylvania in all the processes, by which iron is extracted from the native ore, and converted into articles ready for the market.

In England, and on the continent of Europe, coke has heretofore been generally employed in the smelting of iron. Abortive attempts to use anthracite with cold blast were formerly made in Pennsylvania, in Wales, and in France. It was not until the year 1837, when *hot* blast was substituted for cold, that any considerable success crowned the attempts to use anthracite in that process. Besides the saving of expense thus effected, the quality of the iron produced has been improved. Mr. Crane stated, at the meeting of the British Association for the year 1837, that iron, manufactured with anthracite and hot blast at the Yngscedwin iron works, in South Wales, had been found to be stronger than any ever before smelted at those works.

Professor Johnson describes a great variety of experiments relating to the use of anthracite in the manufacture of iron, which, together with his deductions from them, possess great value for those persons who are practically engaged in that business. The latter part of his book is devoted to the subject of the evaporative power of anthracite, and contains, in addition to much other valuable matter, accounts of very laborious and carefully conducted experiments by Mr. A. A. Hayes, of Roxbury, and Dr. S. L. Dana and Mr. James B. Francis, of Lowell, of great importance in relation to the economical generation of steam. It is but an act of justice to add, that Professor Johnson's book is a beautiful specimen of the typography for procuring which the publishers are already so advantageously known.

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13. — *Poems, Narrative and Lyrical.* By William Motherwell. Boston : William D. Ticknor. 1841. 16mo. pp. 220.

This elegant reprint of Motherwell will be welcomed by all the lovers of poetry among us. Some of the poems contained in this volume are very remarkable productions. The writer's mind seems to have been deeply imbued with the peculiar spirit of northern literature, which he has reproduced with singular beauty and effect, though somewhat softened by

the elegances of modern civilization. The bold, daring, abrupt character of the old Scaldic and ballad poetry, seems to have taken full possession of his genius. The editor, with a true appreciation of Motherwell's peculiar turn, remarks; "In his Scandinavian poetry, the spirit of an ancient Scald seems in truth to peal forth. The notes are not those of a soft lute, from silken string or silver wire, but are tones wrung from one of their own rude harps, sinew-strung, whose measures are marked by the sword-struck shield, and whose pauses are filled by the shout of the warrior or the roar of the keel-cleft wave."

It is to subjects such as are most of those treated by the Muse of Motherwell, that the Anglo-Saxon part of our English language is most happily adapted. The poet has not failed to perceive this, and to use, to a great extent, the short, sharp, and ringing words, which have come down to us from our blue-eyed and light-haired Saxon ancestors. With what spirit-stirring effect this has been done, the reader will see in "The Battle-flag of Sigurd." Take a few lines as an illustration;

"Nor swifter from the well-bent bow
Can feathered shaft be sped,
Than o'er the ocean's flood of snow
Their snorting galleys tread.
Then lift the can to bearded lip,
And smite each sounding shield,
Wassaile! to every dark-ribbed ship,
To every battle-field!" — pp. 19, 20.

"The wooing song of Jarl Egill Skallagrim,"— whose very name, like a handsome face, must have been a letter of recommendation to the "Bright Maiden of Orkney,"— is another happy and vigorous imitation of the old northern poetry. We give the conclusion, by way of encouragement to all faint-hearted suitors, to remember the old proverb which applies to their case;

"Away and away then,
I have thy small hand;
Joy with me,— our tall bark
Now bears toward the strand;
I call it the Raven,
The wing of black night,
That shadows forth ruin
O'er islands of light:
Once more on its long deck,
Behind us the gale,
Thou shalt see how before it
Great kingdoms do quail;
Thou shalt see then how truly,
My noble-souled maid,
The ransom of kings can
Be won by this blade.
So bravely Jarl Egill did soothe the pale trembler.

"Ay, gaze on its large hilt,
One wedge of red gold;
But doat on its blade, gilt
With blood of the bold.
The hilt is right seemly,
But nobler the blade,
That swart Velint's hammer
With cunning spells made;
I call it the Adder,
Death lurks in its bite,
Through bone and proof-harness
It scatters pale light.
Fair daughter of Einar,
Deem high of the fate
That makes thee, like this blade,
Proud Egill's loved mate!
So Jarl Egill bore off Torf Einar's bright daughter."
— pp. 36, 37.

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14. — *Theory of Teaching, with a few Practical Illustrations.* By a Teacher. Boston: E. P. Peabody. 1841. 12mo. pp. 128.

It is stated in an introductory note to this pamphlet, that "these letters are part of a real correspondence, begun in order to systematize the writer's own theory and practice. The position of governess was assumed, as the most favorable one for carrying out completely her ideas on education." Works on education have become so abundant, that we rarely look into a new volume upon so threadbare a theme, with any expectation, either of interest, or novelty, or instruction. But no one can read this little book without finding himself in the presence of a mind amply able to furnish him with all three. What we are most struck with, in reading these delightful letters, is the rare union they display of genius and common sense. The power of style which the writer possesses is remarkable. Her English flows in a copious stream of happily chosen phraseology, at once finished and eloquent. An imagination, that frequently kindles into poetry, gives a brilliant coloring to discussions of the dry details upon the art of teaching, while the deep sympathies of her womanly heart animate them with a humane spirit, better than eloquence, better than poetry. These pages not only show an original genius, but a rich and polished literary cultivation; they are embellished with illustrations very felicitously applied from various departments of elegant letters. They show a

remarkable range of thought, both upon the topics which are more immediately discussed, and upon human nature in general. The author must have looked upon society with an observant eye, and pondered long and deeply, in the recesses of an intellect such as few possess, upon the gathered wisdom of a studious and thoughtful youth. Her knowledge of the character and wants of the young seems to be exact and comprehensive; and her perception of the proper moral, as well as intellectual influence, to which their opening minds ought to be subjected, is at once clear and profound. The volume is one to which the teacher may resort for instruction in the technical details of his profession, and, what is much better, to refresh his wearied spirit with the persuasive strains of an eloquence, into which varied knowledge and lofty moral feeling have poured their richest treasures; and the man of literary taste may open its pages, sure to find there many a passage of exquisite elegance, many an unsought felicity of expression, many a deep and striking philosophical remark. What an influence must such an intellect and such a heart exercise upon the plastic characters of the young!

We shall not undertake to analyze the contents of this excellent work, but proceed to give two or three among the many passages which we have marked while reading it.

Speaking of conflicting systems, our author thus discourses;

"Many words and anxieties have been expended on school education, which seems to be the best education for girls in our society; but they have been uttered in various corners, by mothers, whose instincts made them wise,—or partially and often dogmatically, and as complete systems, by teachers. When a teacher perceives the advantage of any one mode, as the Pestalozzian, or that of oral instruction, he is apt to be carried away by its success, and forget the advantages of a different course. Perhaps he has himself been for years subjected to drilling, and received the first instruction addressed to his understanding as light from heaven;—henceforth drilling, learning by rote, are banished from his system, and thoroughness and accuracy too often follow. He forgets what he himself may owe to them, and hurries forth to free all little slaves, with the light which made him free. His system suits some children, and obtains the confidence of their parents; to others it speaks in vain. Meanwhile, in another little flock quite an opposite system, calling forth their energies in a different manner, works wonders. The parents of the successful ones are equally pleased. Parties are naturally formed; there is on both sides ample evidence of success and failure; the confidence of the parents is lost; the children are perplexed when they pass from one to another; and we have scholars admirably developed in some respects, but on the whole, crude, incomplete, unpolished.

"I am not so Quixotic as to try to prevent human nature from running into extremes, and seizing partial views of any subject. But I think we ought not to rest in such views, and that a person who lives

in society is inexcusable if he does not attempt to add his segment to others, until together they embrace the whole subject."— pp. 22, 23.

To which we add, from the same letter, another admirable passage.

"Do not you think that the parents' want of confidence is communicated to the pupils and chills the master? You know in our society cultivated and uncultivated women mingle on an equal footing, a slight covering of grace and manner concealing from one another, and even from themselves, wherein they differ. The ignorant among these are perhaps quite as ambitious for their daughters as the well-informed, and, having heard a certain study or practice recommended, insist on it, to the great injury of the pupil and teacher.

"I have so much faith in the maternal feeling, that I have no doubt, if pains were taken to ascertain the best studies for girls at each age, mothers would adopt them. After doing all in their power for a daughter, they are frequently disappointed; she leaves school wholly ignorant of some important branches, and regrets that no wise friend stood by to urge them; or she feels that her school hours have been wasted in accommodating to one change after another.

"How are we to inspire parents with this confidence? There is in this country no authority, not even experience, to create it. We must deserve it. We must survey the whole ground, and lay it out with our best wisdom. We must gain insight into the subject, and consider the circumstances peculiar to our country; and we shall not then complain of want of confidence. If we are faithful, mothers will soon find it out; there is no want of seeking, and reflecting, and toiling on their part. Their wasted exertion is one of the most melancholy features of the present mode of education. How often have I seen a mother foregoing all social enjoyment, devoting her weary evenings to the grammar and the Latin lesson, wasting herself and her children in fruitless attempts to accomplish what they have never been trained to attain. I have been tempted to say, 'It is too late,— habits of observation, of examining any little phenomenon, of persevering, of proceeding step by step, — some such natural lesson given ten years since, and this would have been an intellectual sport. Begin early, — this is the great secret of all undertakings. Do not let children lead the life of vagabonds until they present themselves to the unfortunate master. No matter for teaching this or that branch; but teach them to observe, to reflect, to apply, to persevere; in short, to live earnestly, and according to intellectual laws; and they will be prepared for all we can set before them.'" — pp. 25, 26.

We must give one extract more. It is upon the peculiarities of the female character, and the attention they require in the education of girls.

"I must now consider how far organization guides us in the education of girls. Its first indication is one in which all experience, and I should say each person's consciousness, agree, — to cultivate the feelings rather than the intellect. Were the powers of man and woman precisely *alike*, it would be an anomaly in nature. The difference is

one of the wisest provisions of the All-wise, and must be kept in sight in all attempts to unfold woman in her true proportions. We observe at once that all beings claim her love, that her heart is always ready to answer the demands on her intellect. Whatever she sees, knows, touches, she loves. Her love is not only more universal, than that of man, but more fervent, particularly her religious feeling. Let us follow the leadings of nature, and call forth and strengthen feeling in all its forms. She must cherish at the bottom of her heart, deep central fires, making the surface luxuriant. She must have sensibility, hearty sympathy with all human feelings, swift compassion for the afflicted, a heart wide enough to embrace the world, yet delighting to overflow the few with its treasures. When we recall the many occasions on which feeling makes woman seem to us almost divine, we feel that her intellectual developement is far less important. In these hours she beams upon man, far, far above him; but how often, how constantly, does she fall below him! How often is her sweetness turned to gall! She sheds poison where she would pour balm; trifles appear to her mountains, and the mightiest interests take no hold on her light and fickle nature; she cannot understand nor express herself; she moves as in a dream, scattering her precious gifts with sealed eyes. Feeling alone cannot secure her happiness, — it may make her wretched, — and we turn to the enlightening and saving power of the intellect. We would cultivate it for those who are beloved, because it increases, a thousand fold, their delight in loving, — we would cultivate it for the lonely, because it is a safe resource.

"We may infer that the developement of the feelings is of more importance than intellectual culture, because God has not left it to chance or choice. Women, particularly, he surrounds from infancy with all that can excite feeling. They are the cherished objects; they live in the very heart of life, — in the scene where all great events occur, where great griefs are borne, and where all outward action has its rise. Birth, death, sickness, all wounded feelings, seek shelter in home, and through sympathy develope the hearts of wives and daughters. The play of social life, the sweet intercourse of families, the helplessness of infancy and of age, the sufferings of others, all excite and deepen feeling. The daily life of woman derives its interest from the hold which persons have on her feelings; that she may please them, she cultivates the graces and embellishments of life, — she seeks all womanly gifts, — her charmed hands would smooth the pillow, her sweet discourse drive care from the knotted brow; at her approach the little child should cease its wailing. Happy the woman who finds in her own family sufficient objects for such cares, — who knows the delight of blessing, and seeks books only to return, laden with spoils, to well-attuned hearts. But we cannot anticipate such a lot for all children, and it is the part of wisdom to prepare for the most lonely and dreary one." — pp. 38, 40.

We have not selected these passages as the best in the book; they are only a few out of a great many, that fixed our attention during a delightful reading. We hope a pen of such rare powers will not be suffered to remain unemployed,

15. — *Egmont ; a Tragedy in Five Acts.* Translated from the German of Goethe. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1841. 8vo. pp. 150.

The Tragedy of Egmont has been much praised by the admirers of Goethe. It is an attempt to work up historical events and characters into the dramatic form, and is classed with productions of what has been called the *Romantic school.* It is, moreover, a tragedy in prose. How far it is entitled to the applause it has received, may perhaps admit of a doubt. Has a poet the right to depart from historic truth in his delineations ? Is he justified in taking an historic personage, and materially changing his character, perverting the facts of his life, and placing him amidst circumstances which we know could never have existed ? We think not, though the practice of Sir Walter Scott may be pleaded in justification. The poet's art is not lawless and omnipotent. With the creatures of his brain he may do what he pleases ; but, when he chooses to bring a real character into the circle of his airy beings, he cannot change him, by the touch of his wand, into an unsubstantial form, and extend over him the laws of his own poetical creation. He walks among them, an historical character still. The utmost the poet can do is to invent other actions and different situations from those in which the hero is known to have moved, but not opposite and contradictory ones. The poet has no right to claim for his work the advantage of his hero's historic fame, and at the same time load him with a fictitious infamy. He has no right to excite our interest by a great and brilliant name, and then to stain that name with vices, of which its possessor was never guilty ; to attribute to a real person acts which he never did, and never could have done, and to place him in situations which it is morally impossible he should ever have occupied. But what has Goethe done in the Romantic drama of Egmont ? Let us look at the leading facts in Count Egmont's life.

Lamoral, Count von Egmont, and Prince of Gavre, was a descendant of the warlike line of the Dukes of Gueldres. His ancestors had been distinguished in the history of the country ; one of them had been Stadtholder of Holland, as early as the reign of Maximilian. The Count was born in 1522, and entered the military service early in life under Charles the Fifth, who invested him, in 1546, with the dignity of a Knight of the Golden Fleece. Under that Emperor's successor, Philip the Second, he distinguished himself as a general of cavalry in the famous battles of St. Quentin, 1557,

and Gravelines, 1558. "These battles," says Schiller, "made him the hero of his age."

Egmont was married to the Duchess Sabina of Bavaria, and by this brilliant connexion greatly increased the immense influence he already possessed. After the return of Philip to Spain, and while the Netherlands were under the regency of Margaret of Parma, an illegitimate daughter of Charles the Fifth, the troubles broke out in that country, which cost the Count his life. The beautiful and noble qualities of his character made him the object of the ardent love of his countrymen. He was generous, open-hearted, unsuspecting, and magnificent. He possessed in the highest degree the sense of honor, the courtesy, and the noble bearing of knighthood in its most brilliant days ; and his martial fame was a spell upon the hearts of all. "Every public appearance of Egmont was a triumph ; at the chivalrous pastimes, mothers pointed him out to their children. His religion was gentle and humane, but little enlightened, because it received its light from his heart and not from his understanding. He looked upon men as either good or bad ; in his morality, there was no reconciliation between virtue and vice." William, Prince of Orange, was the only man who rivalled Count Egmont in the hearts of his countrymen ; and when the violent encroachments of the gloomy tyranny of Spain upon their constitutional rights, and hereditary liberties, awakened the passions of the Netherlanders, all eyes were turned to these two illustrious persons. William saw deeper than his friend into the real state of affairs. He was a man of calmer temperament, and divined at once the peril that threatened when the ferocious Duke of Alva was sent by the Spanish despot to quell the restless spirit of the nobility of the Netherlands. He escaped the snare, but nothing could alarm the too confident spirit of Egmont. He, and Philip of Montmorency, Count von Hoorn, were treacherously seized by the Duke of Alva, brought to trial before a tribunal constituted of creatures of his own, and, notwithstanding the great influence of their family connexions, and their privileges as Knights of the Golden Fleece, were sentenced to be beheaded. The sentence was carried into execution at Brussels on the 5th of June, 1563, when Egmont was in the forty-sixth year of his age. All the details of this most tragical event are narrated by Schiller, in his usual interesting style, in the appendix to the "Geschichte des Abfalls der vereinigten Niederlande von der Spanischen Regierung." (pp. 509 *et seq.* ed. 1818.)

Here are materials for a noble historical tragedy, without drawing largely upon the poet's invention. We have strongly contrasted characters, generous and mighty passions, honor, patriotism, and the charities of home, with a fearful tragical

termination, dreadful in itself and dreadful in all its accessories. What a drama would the genius of Shakspeare have wrought out of such events, such passions, such characters, and such woes.

It must be admitted, that Goethe has happily conceived and represented the spirit of popular discontent ; that the inferior personages in his drama are brought before us with a lively reality. The lower and more showy qualities of Egmont's character, too, are painted not without some truth of coloring. The bloody Alva is also well drawn, and the effects of his terrible presence among the Netherlanders are represented with all the vigor of Goethe's better genius. But what shall we say of the moral sense or intellectual perceptions of the poet or of his regard for historic truth, who represents Egmont, — the husband of an illustrious wife, and (like John Rogers) the father of nine children ; the patriot, the hero, and statesman, the admired and beloved of a whole nation, — as the licentious lover of a low-born girl, whom he has himself seduced ; and who thinks to heighten the tragic effect of a great and bloody historical catastrophe by adding to it the self-poisoning of a fictitious paramour ? It was bad enough for poor Egmont to have his head cut off by Alva ; but it is far worse to have his character murdered by Goethe. What a conception of the romantic poetry must Goethe have formed, if he thought it necessary to intermingle lust and suicide with the shedding of patriotic blood, to give his drama the romantic stamp. The true romantic spirit, made up of honor, courtesy, chastity, and the Christian virtues, appears to have been lightly esteemed by Goethe, either as a source of poetical effect, or as the controlling principle of life. A romantic hero, in his estimation, was a man who showed his lofty spirit by seduction and licentiousness. A rake and his mistress and his mistress's mother were to him a highly "æsthetic" group and the very incarnation of romantic poetry.

We think, then, this drama has moral faults which are fatal to its claims as a work of lofty excellence; and that these faults imply a failure in intellectual perception and artistic skill. It is by no means a favorable specimen of the genius of Goethe. The translator has performed his task with spirit and general fidelity. We notice occasionally an erroneous translation of an idiomatic phrase ; but this is not surprising in a drama so abounding in popular phraseology and racy idiomatic terms. The translation represents the original with uncommon accuracy, on the whole ; but we hope the modest translator will next turn his hand to some work free from the objections, in point of morals and of art, which are justly chargeable upon "Egmont."

16. — *A Discourse delivered before the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, on Friday, February 12th*, 1841. By William Bacon Stevens. Boston: Freeman & Bolles. 8vo. pp. 40.

The Georgia Historical Society was founded about three years ago, and incorporated by an act of the legislature of the State. Since that time it has been in active operation. A volume of its "Collections" has been published, containing a series of valuable papers, among which is a reprint of four rare tracts, relating to the first settlement and early history of Georgia.

Dr. Stevens's "Discourse" was delivered before this Society, and, in selecting a subject, he has chosen the period in the history of Georgia between the passing of the celebrated Stamp Act and the Declaration of Independence. This ground is almost wholly untrodden by former writers; but the facts here brought to light by Dr. Stevens show, that the transactions in Georgia during that time claim an important place among the events of the Revolution. If the spirit, which animated the other colonies, was less awake and less prompt in Georgia during the first stages of the contest, there were good reasons for it, reasons in no degree impeaching the patriotism and sound principles of the people; and, as soon as the Georgians felt their rights to be in danger, they took their stand boldly, and maintained it resolutely, to the last, with a zeal and perseverance that never flagged.

On the 1st of November, 1765, when the Stamp Act was to go into effect, the stamped papers had not arrived in Georgia, but they were daily expected, and the "Liberty Boys" had entered into a combination, as in the other colonies, to prevent their distribution, and to compel the distributing officer to resign. At length, however, the stamps arrived, in his Majesty's ship of war *Speedwell*, and were deposited for safe keeping in Fort Halifax. This disposition of them did not satisfy the "Liberty Boys." They held secret meetings, and laid a plan for breaking open the Fort and destroying the papers. News came, on the 2d of January, 1766, that nearly two hundred had assembled for this purpose.

"The Governor, arming himself, immediately ordered the two companies of Rangers, numbering fifty-four men, to attend him, marched with them to the Fort, took out the stamps, placed them in a cart, and, escorted by the military, conveyed them to his mansion. The people looked on in sullen silence, but it was a silence that gave the Governor so much alarm, that for many days he kept a guard of forty men over

his house, and for four nights was in such anxiety and fear that he never removed his clothes. The next day, about 1 o'clock, the Governor, by preconcerted signals, was made acquainted with the arrival of Mr. Agnus, the stamp distributor, at Tybee, and fearing the rage of the citizens, immediately despatched an armed scout-boat, with two or three friends of the government, who, with much secrecy, and a charge to allow him to speak to no one, brought him to the city on the 4th, where he was received by the Governor at his house, and that afternoon took the required oaths. But a few days' residence at the Governor's, even with a guard mounted night and day, convinced him of his insecurity, and in a fortnight he left the city.

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"Towards the close of January, a body of six hundred men assembled within a few miles of the city, and intimated to the Governor, that unless the papers were removed from the place, they would march thither, raze his dwelling to the ground, attack the Fort, and destroy the stamps. The Governor immediately sent the papers down to Fort George, at Cockspur, and placed them in charge of a Captain, two subalterns, and fifty privates of the Rangers. But even this was not deemed a sufficient security, and on the 3d of February, they were once more removed, and finally deposited on board the man-of-war which had brought them to the colony."—pp. 12, 13.

The events of several succeeding years, the struggles between the Governor and the people, the one strenuous for his prerogative in favor of the royal cause, and the other for their rights, are well described by Dr. Stevens. He draws the following sketch of the state of things in Georgia at the beginning of the war, after having mentioned the resolute spirit shown by the Parish of St. John in sending a deputy to the Congress, which convened in May, 1775.

"The hesitation on the part of the other parishes in Georgia to adopt all the measures of Congress, was the theme of violent and unjustifiable denunciation. A momentary glance at the condition of Georgia, will remove these unfounded aspersions. According to the returns of Governor Wright to the Lords of Trade, the population of Georgia in 1774, was but seventeen thousand whites, and fifteen thousand blacks; and the entire militia, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, numbered only two thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight, scattered from Augusta to St Mary's. Within her borders, and along her frontier, were the Creeks, with four thousand gun-men, the Chickasaws with four hundred and fifty gun-men, the Cherokees with three thousand gun-men, and the Choctaws with two thousand five hundred gun-men, comprising all together, over forty thousand Indians, ten thousand of whom were warriors, and all, by means of presents and the influence of Captain Stuart and Mr. Cameron, were firm in their alliance with the royal party, and could be brought in any numbers against the colony. On the south, lay the garrisoned province of Florida with a large military force under Governor Tonyn, and hordes of Tory bandits waiting for the signal of the spoiler. On the east was a long line of seaboard, with many fine harbours, sheltered

bays, large rivers, well-stocked islands, and every thing inviting for a naval depredation. And the Earl of Dartmouth had directed General Gage and Admiral Graves, to furnish Governor Wright with any force, military and naval, which he might require. Besides these motives, which addressed themselves to the fears of the colonists, there were others, which partook of a moral character. Since its settlement, Georgia had received, by grant of Parliament, nearly a million of dollars, in addition to the bounties which had been lavished on the silk culture, indigo, and other agricultural products. This consideration weighed with much force on many minds, and on such the Governor took every occasion to impress the baseness of ingratitude towards a sovereign whose paternal care had been so largely exerted in their behalf. Each of the other colonies also had a charter upon which to base some right, or claim of redress, but Georgia had none. When the trustees' patent expired in 1752, all her chartered privileges became extinct. On its erection into a royal province, the commission of the Governor was her only constitution, she had no fixed and fundamental basis, but lived upon the will of the monarch, the mere creature of his volition. At the head of the government was Sir James Wright, Bart., who, for fourteen years, had presided over it with singular ability and acceptance. When he arrived, in 1760, the colony was languishing under the accumulated mismanagement of the former trustees and more recent Governors. But his zeal and efforts soon changed its aspect to health and vigor. He guided it into the avenues of wealth, he sought out the means of its advancement; his prudence secured the amity of the Indians; and his negotiations added millions of acres to its territory. Diligent in his office, firm in his resolves, loyal in his opinions, courteous in his manners, and possessed of a vigorous and well-balanced mind, he ruled the province more by suasion and argument than by menace and force. Instead of being, like many of the royal Governnors, obnoxious, he was beloved by his people; and, though he differed from the majority of them as to the cause of their distresses, and the means for their removal, he never allowed himself to be betrayed into one act of violence, or into any course of outrage and revenge. The few years of his administration were the only happy ones Georgia ever enjoyed until after the Revolution; and to his energy and devotedness, mainly, is to be attributed her civil and commercial prosperity. With these obstacles within and around her, is it to be wondered that Georgia hesitated and wavered? that she feared to assume a responsibility which threatened inevitably to crush her? Her little phalanx of patriots, but little outnumbering the band of Leonidas, were men of Spartan hearts; but Spartan hearts, even at Thermopylæ, could not resist the hosts of the Persians; and what had they to hope, in her feeble state, her inhabitants rent with discord, her metropolis filled with placemen and officers, her seaboard guarded by a fleet, and her frontier for two hundred and fifty miles, gleaming with the tomahawk of the scalper, and the fires of the warrior's wigwam? If there ever was a time for Georgia to falter, it was then; and falter she did,— but only for a moment; for, soon summoning her energies, she cast aside all fear, and, commending her cause to the God of battles, joined in the sacred league of Independence."— pp. 28–30.

Governor Wright having obtained permission to return to England, he went on board the *Scarborough*, an armed vessel, on the 11th of February, 1776. There were then several public vessels in the river, which wanted supplies. The Governor wrote to the Council requesting them to furnish fresh supplies to the fleet. They refused, and preparations were immediately made for extorting by force what could not be obtained by negotiation. Three armed vessels, and two transports with soldiers, passed up the river for that purpose.

"Having previously sounded Back river, two of the vessels on the 2d of March sailed up that channel. One anchored directly opposite the town, and the other grounded at the west end of Hutchinson's Island in attempting to pass round it and come down upon the shipping from above. During the night, the troops from the first vessel under Majors Maitland and Grant, were silently marched across Hutchinson's Island, and embarked in merchant vessels which lay on the other side. When the morning of the 3d of March, 1776, revealed the proximity of the naval and military force, the inhabitants were filled with the utmost indignation. The grounded vessel was immediately attacked by a company of riflemen under Major John Habersham, who soon drove every man from its deck, and would have made it his prize, but, having no boats to effect it, he had the mortification of seeing her float off at high water and escape. In the mean time General McIntosh had collected a few troops, and despatched a flag of truce with several officers, to demand why the soldiers had been brought up to town, and placed in merchantmen in the river? The flag was detained; another, sent to learn the cause of the detention, was denied admittance; and, firing upon the soldiers who had insolently ordered it off, received in return a volley, which wounded one man, and so shattered the boat that it with difficulty reached the shore. Having no artillery of sufficient calibre to dislodge them, an order was given to set the vessels on fire. In the afternoon a few adventurers, among whom was General James Jackson, — he, who was in the first and the last battle in Georgia, proceeded to the ship *Inverness*, loaded with rice, deer skins, &c., which they set on fire, and slipping her cable, she drifted with the tide upon the brig *Nelly*, which was soon wrapped in flames. The officers and soldiers precipitately abandoned her, and, in their confusion, threw themselves in the half-drained and uliginous rice fields, whence they were extricated the next morning with the loss of their arms and ammunition. Two other vessels were also consumed, and the invaders totally routed, not however without the sacrifice of several valuable lives." — pp. 34, 35.

The above extracts will show the nature of the particulars contained in Dr. Stevens's Discourse. There are many other facts not less interesting or important, and they carry with them the greater weight as being drawn from the most authentic sources.

17. —*The Louisiana Law Journal, devoted to the Theory and Practice of the Law.* Edited by GUSTAVUS SCHMIDT, Counsellor at Law. Vol. I. — Nos. 1 & 2. 8vo.

WE are glad to see these Numbers of a new Journal devoted to law. They are published at New Orleans, and, naturally, have a tincture of the soil of Louisiana. The Roman and French jurisprudence is brought into view, rather than our Common Law. This circumstance, we fear, will restrain the circulation of the Journal within a very limited range, as unfortunately the number is very small in this country of those who cultivate foreign jurisprudence. The law of Louisiana is drawn originally from France and Spain, — both of which nations in turn are indebted to ancient Rome, — but it has recently borrowed some of the invigorating maxims and forms of practice of the Common Law. Such are the relations between the various systems of law, that we cannot doubt that the practitioners of our less genial system will be instructed by the discussions in the present Journal, though their bearing will be more strongly felt and better appreciated in Louisiana.

The object of the editor is, to select whatever is best calculated to throw light on the present state of the law in Louisiana, and to point out the analogies and contrasts between the legislation of that and the other States of the Union. He very properly deems it useful as well as instructive to cast at least an occasional glance, on the state of jurisprudence in foreign countries, and to compare it with our own, in order to profit by whatever ameliorations may have been introduced, either in legislation or in the practical administration of justice. The editor also proposes to give, in each number, an account of the cases in the Supreme Court, of general interest, which have been decided in the three months preceding the appearance of the Number.

The first Number contains an interesting article on the history of the jurisprudence of Louisiana ; two reviews, on M. de Savigny's Treatise of Possession, and on Mr. Justice Story's Conflict of Laws ; reminiscences of the late Chief Justice Marshall; and some celebrated trials in foreign countries. The second number has, among other articles, an interesting history of the famous *Batture Question*, where Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Livingston crossed their swords. There are two pleasant letters in this number from those two great jurists, Mr. Justice Story and Mr. Chancellor Kent, expressing strong approbation of the character of the new Law Journal. Perhaps the taste of the editor would have been entitled to higher praise, if

he had resisted the temptation to publish these, and had treated them as private communications, which they clearly were. The practice of publishing private letters is unfortunately too common in this country. It deserves the rebuke of Cicero ; "*Quis enim unquam, qui paulum modo bonorum consuetudinem nôsset, literas ad se ab amico missas, in medium protulit, palamque recitavit ? Quid est aliud, tollere e vitâ vitæ societatem, quam tollere amicorum colloquia absentium ?*"

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18. — *The Poems of* John G. C. Brainard. *A New and Authentic Collection ; with an Original Memoir of his Life.* Hartford : E. Hopkins. 1841. 12mo. pp. 191.

Mr. Brainard was one of those poets, whose works gave promise of something better in the future than the performances of the past. Every thing he wrote was hastily written amidst the pressure of editorial labors, and to serve a present purpose. Time and labor are as necessary to the poet as to the painter, if he would produce finished works. There is no such thing as striking out a poem for immortality at a heat. Single thoughts of exquisite beauty, stanzas of ravishing melody, may spring from the poet's pen, (like sparks from the blacksmith's anvil,) while he is hammering out, with desperate speed, something to fill a corner in the daily or weekly sheet. But a well-proportioned work of poetic art, — the thoughts fully unfolded, and linked together by the golden chains of harmony; — each part well-proportioned, and nicely adjusted to the rest, —expressed in language fitly chosen, through which, as through a transparent medium, the thought shines undimmed and unrefracted, — cannot be wrought by the finest genius without toil and care, and nice comparison and selection.

Mr. Brainard never had time to do full justice to his powers. But his works contain many passages that show a brilliant genius. Several of his shorter pieces, are marked throughout by very melodious rhythmical movement and felicitous imagery. His lines on Niagara Falls have often, but not very judiciously, been referred to as remarkable. They are what any one, who had never seen the Falls (as was the case with Brainard) might have written ; very commonplace and vague. But "The Sea-Bird's Song," and "The Storm of War," shine with all the vividness of his genius. Some of his humorous pieces are excellent.

The present edition is very neatly and correctly printed. The "original memoir," is not a tasteful tribute to a poet's memory. The poetical character of Brainard is not drawn in it with any force, or finished with discriminating touches.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

The Rose of Sharon; a Religious Souvenir, for 1842. Edited by Miss Sarah C. Edgarton. Boston: A. Tompkins. 12mo. pp. 302.

The Violet; a Christmas and New Year's Gift, for 1842, with eight elegant Illustrations from Engravings on Steel. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 12mo. pp. 216.

The Dahlia, or Memorial of Affection, for 1842. Edited by a Lady. New York: James P. Giffing. 12mo. pp. 180.

The Gem; a Christmas and New Year's Present, for 1842. Philadelphia: Henry F. Anners. 12mo. pp. 288.

The Gift; a Christmas and New Year's Present, for 1842. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 12mo. pp. 322.

Friendship's Offering. Edited by Mrs. Catharine H. W. Esling. 1842. Boston: E. Littlefield. 12mo. pp. 320.

The Annuallette; a Christmas and New Year's Gift for Children. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 32mo. pp. 137.

The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1842. Boston: D. H. Williams. 12mo. pp. 328.

The Lady's Annual Register, and Housewife's Almanac, for 1842. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 12mo. pp. 108.

The Child's Gem, for 1842. Edited by a Lady. New York: S. Colman. 32mo, square. pp. 144.

The Child's Token. New York: S. Colman. 32mo, square. pp. 119.

Youth's Keepsake; a Christmas and New Year's Gift for Young People. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 16mo. pp. 191.

The American Pocket Book, for 1842; containing a Complete System of Portable Book-keeping. Arranged for the Day, Week, Month, Quarter, and Year, together with an ample Diary and Almanac, &c. &c. By a Philadelphia Editor. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 16mo. pp. 72.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Gilbert Motier de la Fayette, a Marquis of France; a General in the American and French Revolutions; the Competitor and Friend of Washington; the Champion of American Independence, and of the Rights and Liberties of Mankind. From Numerous and Authentic Sources. By Ebenezer Mack. Ithaca, N. Y.: Mack, Andrus, & Woodruff. 12mo. pp. 371.

EDUCATION.

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The Glory and the Shame of England. By C. Edwards Lester. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 253 and 293.

Erratum.— *Page* 90, *line* 8, *for* Jay *read* Say.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CXV.

APRIL, 1842.

ART. I. — *Arundines Cami, sive Musarum Cantabrigiensium Lusus Canori.* Collegit atque edidit HENRICUS DRURY, A. M. Cantabrigiæ. 1841. 8vo. pp. 261.

THIS is not only one of the handsomest, but one of the most entertaining volumes that we have lately received from England. Among the contributors to its pages are some of the best scholars of the old University of Cambridge. It consists of Greek and Latin translations, chiefly from the English poets, most of which are executed with much classical elegance. Many of them are humorous trifles, but the whole collection shows the exquisite skill possessed by members of the University in composition in the two principal languages of antiquity. The nicety and accuracy of English scholarship have always been famous ; its comprehensiveness less so. A very exact verbal knowledge of Greek and Latin, and especially of the laws of metrical composition, has been considered indispensable to the education of an English gentleman. Hence we have seen eminent professional men filling up the intervals of their daily occupations by writing Latin and Greek verses, or translating into those tongues favorite passages from English authors. Illustrious statesmen console themselves under defeat, or speed the hours of retirement from political life, by constructing hexameters and pentameters. At the schools, boys are most laboriously

trained in this discipline ; prizes and honors are obtained by it at the University ; and the high places of the church are brilliant objects in the scholar's perspective, the steps to which are trochees, spondees, and anapæsts. Classical learning is thus preëminently esteemed in England. But it has rarely taken the comprehensive range over all the fields of antiquarian research, for which German scholarship, since the days of Wolf and Heyne, has been distinguished. The philologists of England have been too much inclined to spend their strength on minute points, and the mechanical structure of sentences and verses.

Mr. Porson was a striking example, both of the excellences and defects of his learned countrymen. His knowledge was profound, and ever ready to his hand. He had a memory that grasped every thing within its reach, and let nothing go. But he failed to enter as deeply as his German rivals into the poetical spirit of the great works he criticized, and contented himself with acute investigations of words and feet. He had at his command the mechanical principles of metrical structure, but failed to master the higher laws of rhythm. In his famous preface to Hecuba, he laid down a series of metrical rules, which were drawn from a limited number of examples ; but it frequently happened, that a dogged line of Æschylus or Sophocles contradicted the canon point-blank. Porson and his school got over such difficulties by altering the line, and not the canon ; as if the old poets never wrote without having a complicated system of prosodiacal rules at their fingers' ends, like the candidate hammering out his Sapphics for a college prize. And when Hermann, the greatest philologist and metrician of modern times, in *his* preface to Hecuba, pointed out, with many compliments to the learned Englishman, the limited and exclusive character of his system, and demonstrated its errors beyond any reasonable cavil or question, the gruff Professor replied with a doggrel version of a Greek Epigram, by an Etonian. The epigram is an imitation of these lines of Phocylides ;

Καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω· Λέριοι κακοί· οὐχ ὁ μὲν, ὃς δ' οὔ·
Πάντες, πλὴν Προκλέους· καὶ Προκλέης Λέριος.

It runs thus ;

Νήϊδες ἐστὲ μέτρων, ὦ Τεύτονες· οὐχ ὁ μὲν, ὃς δ' οὔ·
Πάντες, πλὴν Ἑρμάννος· ὁ δ' Ἕρμαννος σφόδρα Τεύτων.

And is thus *elegantly* rendered by Porson;

"The Germans in Greek
Are sadly to seek;
Not five in five score
But ninety-five more;
All, save only Hermann;
And Hermann 's a German."

Those who know the comparative value of the services rendered to Greek studies by the English and the German scholars, have long smiled at the harmless vanity of the Professor and his metrical disciples. Hermann's investigations have entirely set aside the principles of the English school; and, though many of his refined details have been rejected, still he is to be regarded as the great teacher of the laws of metre and rhythm.

The effects of this careful classical training on the minds of English scholars and statesmen are sufficiently obvious. Their writings and their spoken eloquence are marked by a degree of simple, manly taste, which is nowhere else to be found, except in the literature of the ancients. The English language is used by them with a neatness, propriety, exactness, and force, to which "the cheap extemporaneous rant" of most American legislators is a perfect stranger. And, above all, they have the art, — so utterly unknown to nine tenths of the "thrilling," "irresistible," "overwhelming" orators in our republic, — of stopping when they have done. They know how to find the point in question, and keep to it; they are clear, vigorous, and logical. We do not mean to say, that they owe all this to their early skill in hexameters and pentameters. We know well, that a Latin or Greek prize man is not, of necessity, a master of that "harp of thousand strings," the English language. A man may be able to put together faultlessly Greek and Latin verses, who cannot write a page in his mother tongue, without being laughed at; and a man may, like Franklin, acquire by laborious practice a correct and elegant English style without the smallest assistance from Greek and Latin masters. But single examples prove nothing either way. The habits of mind acquired by studying accurately the elegancies of two such instruments of thought, as the languages of Greece and Rome; that nice discrimination, which is for ever called in-

to exercise ; the constant comparisons and selections, which the mind is compelled to make, especially in composition in those languages, cannot fail to prove eminently favorable to correct thinking and writing when the same powers are wielding another instrument, though so widely different from them as the Englishman's mother tongue.

It is true, on the other hand, that persons of no great intellectual powers have sometimes been remarkable for their skill in writing the dead languages. Men without the smallest spark of poetical genius have figured as brilliant authors of elegies, Sapphics, and so on, and received the applauses of listening *senatus academici*. And, from the very nature of the case, in such exercises the language must be an object of primary care, as a thing almost independent of the sentiment and thought. It would be difficult to find, probably, in productions of this sort by the most illustrious poets, many evidences of that creative genius which their native writings display. The "Africa" of Petrarch and the Latin poems of Milton at once occur as illustrations of this remark. Every original genius is bound, by cords he cannot break, to his mother tongue. Its words and forms of expression are intertwined with the very fibres of his intellectual being. His most subtile and peculiar associations, every thought that marks him as a distinct and self-dependent mind, is indissolubly interwoven with the tissue of the language he lisped in his infancy. Before he can freely use a foreign and dead language, he must take from his thoughts all that individualizes them ; he must reduce his conceptions to their simplest form ; in short, he must attempt to say only what everybody else may say with equal propriety.

Another consideration ought also to be taken into the account. Labor as we may upon the ancient languages, we cannot approach the style of the great masters. We should not like to submit a modern Sapphic to Sappho. We can imagine the smile of ridicule, that would pass over the lovely Lesbian's lips, as she read the faultless lines even of a Valentine Blomfield, with their perfectly adjusted trochees, spondees, and dactyles, and their unimpeachable Æolicisms. The most Ciceronian Latin of modern times would, it is likely, fall harshly on the ears of Cicero. Still the effort to imitate those great teachers of thought and style cannot be made without gaining a clearer perception of their beauties, and of

the profound principles on which their works are formed. A close investigation of the harmonies of style naturally prepares the mind to open itself to the deeper harmonies of thought. And the more carefully this is done, the nearer and more distinct will be the student's view of the transcendent excellences of those works, which the world has for many centuries united in admiring. We cannot write Greek prose like Xenophon, or poetry like Homer; but, by the scrutinizing study of the exquisite structure of their language implied in attempting to imitate them, we come to understand them better and feel their beauties more sensibly. The judgment is exercised, the taste refined, and knowledge increased. We make the great authors of antiquity our own, and we attain a sense of literary beauty, which no other productions perhaps would have bestowed upon us. Not that we can ever relish the epics of Homer or the tragedies of Sophocles, like an ancient Greek. There is a skill in the native ear, that passes the comprehension of the duller organ of the foreign critic. A thousand readings of the Antigone will not bring to the perception of the closet scholar in modern times, all the delicate graces of its style, which every person in an Attic audience of thirty thousand men caught, the instant the actor's voice struck upon his senses. Many idiomatic arrangements of words, a thousand nameless touches of the master's native hand, on which, to a great extent, the mysterious effects of poetical works depend, must pass unheeded by the profoundest scholar's mind. Conjectural emendations by the ablest philologist are much more likely to mar than mend an exquisite original. Changing the order of a phrase, or the place of a word, or substituting one minute particle for another, may break a charm, which held enthralled the passions of listening thousands. How many flowers of grace in the Odes of Horace withered, for a time at least, under the rude touch of Bentley's daring hand. And perhaps we should never have known what the trouble with them was, had he not tried the same wanton treatment upon the "Paradise Lost" of Milton. Then, indeed, men saw the folly of trusting to modern skill, to restore the faded or injured beauties of an antique original.

But we have wandered a little from our subject. Classical studies, if pursued with proper views, are unquestionably the best means to train the manly mind to habits of accuracy

and of patient labor.' They form the taste with greater certainty and to greater purity, than any other studies ; and composition in the classical languages, both in prose and verse, is a most important means towards the full accomplishment of all the useful results to which these studies are capable of leading ; not, as may well be supposed from what we have said above, with any prospect of rivalling the ancients in their own arts, or of acquiring a Greek or Latin style that would not strike a Greek or Roman as insufferably stiff and awkward, but to exercise the judgment and the taste, and to learn to comprehend more completely the mighty genius of antiquity.

To our shame it must be confessed, that classical studies have been pursued in the United States with little comparative success. We have individual scholars among us of distinguished acquisitions ; men who stand upon a level with the best scholars of Europe. A steady progress is making towards a better state of things in this respect. Schools are improving, books are multiplying, and college courses are becoming more complete. But we fear the great body of what are humorously called our educated men would make but a poor figure at present by the side of the corresponding classes in the other great civilized nations. We have no fear, however, that the defects in our hurried systems of public education will not in time work out their own remedy.

We have no idea, that American gentlemen will submit for ever to the imputation of inferiority in those intellectual accomplishments from which life borrows its grace and lustre ; or that they will consent to stand apart from those beautiful associations of scholarship, drawn from the common sources of ancient letters, which bind together the cultivated minds of all the European races into an intellectual brotherhood. But many of the prevailing vices of our society *might* be corrected more speedily than seems likely at present. Why should our young men be in such a hurry as they universally are, to rush into the business and professions of life ? Why should they not be content to pass two or three more years in filling their minds with the treasures of elegant literature ; with classical learning beyond the superficial courses of most American colleges ; with historical reading, and moral and intellectual philosophy ? No satisfactory reason

certainly can be assigned, except the temptations in the shape of rapidly accumulating wealth, or early notoriety, — those two monstrous cheats, those pernicious dreams, — οὖλοι ὄνειροι, — which lead astray so early into paths of toil and peril, the best intellects of the republic.

It requires only a sound public opinion to set this matter right; and a sound public opinion can only spring from a right example set by the few who see and feel the wants of the country, and, seeing, dare to do what they can to supply them. The best educated men ought to look to the condition of our classical schools, and take care that their defects are not allowed to pass unscrutinized. We have some schools that would do honor to any country. The Boston Latin School, — raised to great eminence by a succession of able teachers, — has done more than any other institution of its kind in the country, to cherish among the young a love of classical learning. In that school, the foundation is deeply laid for the suitable education of a gentleman. There, no boy is allowed to hurry over the preparatory studies of his literary training, for the sake of getting through the work as if it were a necessary evil, and the sooner disposed of the better. But every thing is thoroughly learned, and in order. The elements of a classical education are properly understood and conscientiously taught, and not easily forgotten by the pupils. One thing, however, we have regretted, — the omission of late years to publish the prize compositions of the boys in Greek, Latin, and English, which formerly excited much interest in the literary community, and drew great attention at home and abroad, upon that school. Why this publication was given up, we have never been very clearly informed. If the movement was owing to one of those sudden spasms of economy, to which all public bodies are occasionally subjected, we can only say, that the palliative was applied at a very unlucky spot. That little annual pamphlet, besides the excellent effects it produced among the pupils of the Latin School, was a yearly reminder to the masters and pupils of other schools, of what could and ought to be done by the high-spirited boys, who were emulous of the pleasures and honors of literary acquisition; it excited a generous ambition far beyond the circles for which it was more particularly designed. We hope the enlightened city of Boston will some time or other reconsider this matter; her literary reputation

was more deeply interested in it, than those who have passed all their days within the sound of Boston bells have probably imagined. We say, then, let the publication be resumed.

The friends of classical learning ought also to look to the condition of our colleges. The establishment of prizes and honors for compositions in the classical languages would have the happiest influence in stimulating young men to an ardent pursuit of those studies. A few scholarships, — the expense of which would be trifling, — at our principal colleges, — just sufficient to give a modest support to their incumbents, and bestowed as a reward for distinguished attainments in the classics, — would be of immense importance in raising the standard of a learned education. To say that such things cannot be done here because this country is less ancient and less wealthy than other nations, is to talk nonsense. We have wealth enough for every other conceivable thing; wealth enough to give expensive balls to youthful princes, when they set their royal feet upon our republican shores; wealth enough to load our tables with the costliest luxuries from every foreign clime; wealth enough to clothe our wives and daughters in showy fabrics from the looms of Europe, in gossamer tissues from the furthest Ind; and can we do nothing to encourage the growing intellect of the country, and stimulate it to a manly rivalry with the kindred intellect of the country of our fathers.

But to return to the book from which we took our departure. We have read it with amusement and delight, and nothing remains but to present to our readers a few specimens from its varied pages. We are glad to see that our old friend, Gammer Gurton, is so well esteemed among the wits and scholars of England. A very large number of her immortal productions we find here learnedly rendered into the languages of Greece and Rome. We begin, — *ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμεσθα,* — with one by no less a person than Richard Porson, — yes, the great Porson himself.

"THE PARENTS' WARNING.

"THREE children sliding on the ice
All on a summer's day,
As it fell out, they all fell in, —
The rest they ran away.

"Now had these children been at school,
Or sliding on dry ground,
Ten thousand pounds to one penny
They had not all been drowned.

"You parents that have children dear,
And eke you that have none,
If you will have them safe abroad,
Pray keep them safe at home.

"GAMMER GURTON.

"VERSIO.

"Κρυσταλλοπήκτους τρίπτυχοι κόροι ῥοὰς
Ὥρᾳ θέρους ψαίροντες εὐτάρσοις ποσὶ,
Δινᾶῖς ἔπιπτον, οἷα δὴ πίπτειν φιλεῖ,
Ἅπαντες· εἶτ' ἔφευγον οἱ λελειμμένοι.
Ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἦσαν ἐγκεκλεισμένοι μοχλοῖς,
Ἢ ποσὶν ὀλισθάνοντες ἐν ξηρῷ πέδῳ,
Χρυσῶν ἂν ἠθέλησα περιδόσθαι σταθμῶν,
Εἰ μὴ μέρος τι τῶν νέων ἐσώζετο.
Ἀλλ' ὦ τοκεῖς, ὅσοις μὲν ὄντα τυγχάνει,
Ὅσοις δὲ μὴ, βλαστηματ' εὐτέκνου σπορᾶς,
Ἢν εὐτυχεῖς εὔχησθε τὰς θυράς' ὁδοὺς
Τοῖς παισὶν, εὖ σφᾶς ἐν δόμοις φυλάσσετε. — R. P."
— pp. 28, 29.

We find an acquaintance of our infancy, — "The Old Gentleman of Tobago," clad in a Greek dress by Mr. Donaldson, a Fellow of Trinity College.

"THE OLD GENTLEMAN OF TOBAGO.

"THERE was an old man of Tobago,
Who lived on rice gruel and sago;
Till much to his bliss
His physician said this, —
'To a leg, Sir, of mutton you may go.'

"GAMMER GURTON.

"SENEX TOBAGENSIS.

"Γέρων τις, οἰκῶν τοὺς Τοβαγῴους μύχους,
Ἐδειπνοποιεῖ σαγινὴν δηρὸν τροφήν·
Τέλος δ' ἰατρος εἶπε, χαρμονὴν κλύειν,
Φάγοις ἂν ἤδη πρόβατον, ὦ μάκαρ γέρον. — J. W. D."
— pp. 16, 17.

The celebrated "Jack Horner" thus figures in Latin by the aid of Francis Hodgson, S. T. B.

"LITTLE JACK HORNER.

"LITTLE Jack Horner
Sat in a corner
Eating a Christmas pie;
He put in his thumb
And pulled out a plum,
And cried, 'What a good boy am I!'
"GAMMER GURTON.

"QUOD FECERIT IOANNES HORNER.

"ANGULUS in camera quam conspicis ille tenebat
Jampridem Hornerum puerili ætate sedentem;
Atque ibi signarent cum Saturnalia brumam,
Ornarentque omnes bellaria mystica mensas,
Parvus Ioannes sacratum et dulce comedit
Artocreas, simplexque legens sibi pollice prunum
Aiebat placide, —'Puerorum en optimus ipse!'— F. H."
— pp. 34, 35.

We give now something of a different character; Shakspeare's "All the World 's a Stage," translated into Latin hexameters, by Benjamin Heath Drury, A. B., one of the Masters of Harrow School.

"THE DRAMA OF LIFE.

"ALL the world 's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players;
They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages. At first the infant,
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms;
And then the whining school-boy with his satchel
And shining morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school. And then the lover
Sighing like furnace, with a woful ballad
Made to his mistress' eyebrow. Then a soldier
Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard,
Jealous in honor, sudden and quick in quarrel,
Seeking the bubble reputation
Even in the cannon's mouth. And then the justice,
In fair round belly with good capon lined,

With eyes severe, and beard of formal cut,
Full of wise saws and modern instances ;
And so he plays his part. The sixth age shifts
Into the lean and slippered pantaloon,
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side ;
His youthful hose well saved, a world too wide
For his shrunk shank, and his big manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound. Last scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans every thing.
" SHAKSPEARE.

" FABULA VITÆ.

" QUO partes agimus, terra est commune theatrum,
Scenaque factorum : instabiles eximus, inimus,
Fabulaque in septem vitæ producitur actus.
Principio in cunis vagit sine viribus infans,
Nutricisque sinu vomit et lallare recusat.
Inde puer querulus doctæ delubra Minervæ
Suspensus dextra loculos, et lucidus ora,
Incessu tardo adrepit ; tum tristis amator
Fornacis ritu fervet, caræque puellæ
Molle supercilium lugubri carmine laudat.
Hinc bellator atrox, in jurgia promptus et audax,
Jurans per loca mira, feræ barbatus ad instar,
Vanum et inane decus vel in ipso limine mortis
Quærit ovans, vitamque cupit pro laude pacisci !
Proximus in scenam judex venit. Ille rotundo
Ventre capit pullam, lautæque opsonia mensæ,
Contractos torquens oculos, barbaque timendus ;
Verbaque docta loqui solet, et nova promere facta ;
Et sibi sic proprias partes agit. Inde senecta
Vaccillans curva titubat, macilentus homullus,
Laxa podagrosæ supponens tegmina plantæ ;
Cui pera ad latus est, et vitrea lumina nasum ;
Cui, bene servatus, jam major crure cothurnus.
Tum lingua infringi, vox delirare virilis,
Et fundi infantes balba de nare susurri.
Ocius inde ætas succedit septima, — finis
Portenti, extremus vitai mobilis actus ;
Claudicat ingenium, rediere oblivia rerum ;
Gustus hebet, pereunt dentes, caligat ocellus ;
Omnia deficiunt atque uno tempore desunt. — B. H. D."
— pp. 90 – 93.

Among the most elegant pieces in the volume is a Latin version of that exquisite little poem of Simonides, "Danaë," which we give with the original.

"DANAE.

"Ὅτε λάρνακι ἐν δαιδαλέᾳ ἄνεμος
Βρέμῃ πνέων, κινηθεῖσά τε λίμνα
Δείματι ἤριπεν οὐδ' ἀδιάνταισι
Παρείαις, ἀμφί τε Περσεῖ βάλε
Φιλὰν χέρα, εἶπέν τε· ὤ τέκος
Οἷον ἔχω πόνον· σὺ δ' ἀώτεις γαλαθήνῳ τ'
Ὄπορι κνώσσεις ἐν ἀτερπεῖ δώματι
Χαλκεογόμφῳ δὲ, νυκτιλαμπεῖ
Κυανέῳ τε δνόφῳ. τὺ δ' αὐαλέαν
Ὑπερθε τεὰν κόμαν βαθεῖαν
Παρίοντος κύματος οὐκ ἀλέγεις,
Οὐδ' ἀνέμων φθόγγων, πορφυρέᾳ
Κείμενος ἐν χλανίδι, πρόσωπον καλόν.
Εἰ δέ τοι δεινὸν τόγε δεινὸν ἦν,
Καί κεν ἐμῶν ῥημάτων λεπτὸν
Ὑπεῖχες οὖας, κέλομαι, εὖδε βρέφος,
Εὐδέτω δὲ πόντος, εὐδέτω ἄμετρον κακόν.
Μεταβουλία δέ τις φανείη,
Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἐκ σέο· ὅτι δὴ θαρσαλέον
Ἔπος, εὔχομαι τεκνόφι δίκας σύγγνωθί μοι.

"DANAE.

"QUANDO insonaret sub trabe dædala
Vis sæva ventorum, et pelagi palus
Concussa suaderet timorem,
Inque oculis premeretur humor,
Fovit tenellum Persea brachiis
Dixitque Mater: 'Me miseram, quibus
Curis laboro! tu sed æneis
Vectibus implacidoque lecto,
Mollissima ætas, sterneris, et gravem
Carpis soporem: te pelagi premit
Cœlique caligo; sed ipse
Immemori frueris quiete;
Quantum capillis immineant aquæ,
Quantumque venti vis crepet, unice
Securus: ut pulcher nitensque
Purpureo recubas in ostro!
Quod si timeres quæ mihi sunt metu,

Et lene consilium imbiberes meum,
Dormi, juberem ; durmiunto
Dura fugæ mala, dura ponti.
Sic et benignus consilium pater
Mutet refingens in melius, neque
Hæc nolit ulcisci, precando
Ni fuerim nimium molesta ! ' — C. M."
— pp. 114, 115.

But we cannot keep long away from our venerable friend Gammer Gurton. Samuel Butler, the late learned bishop of Litchfield, has selected from that immortal lady's more than epic strains, the lines commemorating the exploits of that man so "wondrous wise," who performed operations upon his own eyes, surpassing all that is now doing by the surgeons to cure the strabismus ; — and has rendered them into Greek Iambic trimeters, in a style worthy of his critical fame.

"THE MAN OF THESSALY.

"There was a man of Thessaly,
And he was wondrous wise ;
He jumped into a quickset hedge
And scratched out both his eyes :
And when he saw his eyes were out,
With all his might and main
He jumped into another hedge, —
And scratched them in again.
"Gammer Gurton.

"VIR THESSALICUS.

" *Ἐξ οὗ τυχόντων Θέτταλός τις ἦν ἀνήρ,*
Ὃς ἔργον ἐπεχείρησε τλημονέστατον ·
Ἀκανθοχηνοκοκκόβατον εἰσήλατο,
Λίσσας τ' ἀνεξώρυξεν ὀφθάλμων κόρας.
Ὡς οὖν τὰ πραχθέντ' ἔβλεπεν τυφλὸς γεγώς,
Οὐ μὴν ὑπεπτηξ' οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εὐκαρδίως
Βάτον τιν' ἄλλην ἦλατ' εἰς ἀκανθίνην,
Κἀκ τοῦδ' ἐγένετ' ἐξαῦθις ἐκ τυφλοῦ βλέπων. — S. B."
— pp. 160, 161.

We are sorry to be informed, at this late day, that our venerable friend, whose honesty has been supposed beyond the reach of suspicion, had her little failings after all. It seems, from the learned researches of Edward Craven Hawtrey,

S. T. P., and Head Master of Eton School, that the much admired strain, beginning

"Sing a song of sixpence,"

is a plagiarism, from a fragment of Athenæus, lately discovered. Now that the truth is known, — for plagiarism like murder will out, — we may as well confess, that we always had a lurking suspicion, that all was not right about the old lady and this piece. It has a certain air of antique simplicity, — and a certain indescribable something, which we always thought went a little beyond the genius even of Gammer Gurton. The original is in Trochaic Tetrameter Catalectic, — that ever the sly old soul should have dabbled in such musty learning! We give the poem in both forms, and then drop the veil of charity over her failings for ever.

"Sing a song of sixpence,
A pocket full of rye;
Four and twenty blackbirds
Baked in a pie:
When the pie was opened
The birds began to sing;
Was not that a dainty dish
To set before the King?

"The King was in the parlour
Counting out his money;
The Queen was in the kitchen
Eating bread and honey;
The maid was in the garden
Hanging out the clothes;
Down came a blackbird
And carried off her nose.

"Gammer Gurton.

"— *περὶ δὲ τῶν κοσσύφων, ὡς ἐκ κριβάνων τοῖς δειπνοῦσι παρατεθέντα ᾄδουσι, περὶ δὲ τῶν στρουθίων, ὡς τῶν παιδισκῶν τὰς ῥῖνας καθιπτάμενα ἅρπαζει, τῶν κωμικῶν τις οὕτως γράφει·*

"*Ἄισμα νῦν τετρωβολαῖον, ᾄδετ', ἄνδρες δημόται,*
Κανναβου τίς ἐστ' ἐν οἴκῳ θύλακος ζεῶν πλέως,
Κοσσύφων δὲ κριβανιτῶν τετράδι' ἓξ ἐν πέμματι·
Πέμμα δ' ὡς ἤνοιξε δαιτρὸς, ὡς ἔμελψαν κόσσυφοι·
Οὐ τόδ' ἦν ἔδεσμα δείπνοις τοῖς τυραννικοῖς πρέπον;
Ἐν τρικλινίῳ τύραννος κολλυβίστης ἔζετο,

Ἕζετ' ἀναβάδην τυράννη γ' · ἄρτον ἥδε καὶ μέλι
Ἠσθιεν · κόρη δ' ἐν αὐλαῖς ἐκρέμασε τὰ βύσσινα,
Νηπία · τέγους γὰρ εὐθὺ στρουθίον καθημένον
Εἶτα ῥῖνα τῆς ταλαίνης ὤχετ' ἐν ῥύγχῳ φέρον."
— pp. 176, 177.

There is a beautiful Latin version of the Antistrophic choral ode in Alcestis, beginning *Ἐγὼ, καὶ διὰ Μόυσας*, by Mr. Drury the editor, and an excellent one of the "Burial of Sir John Moore," by James Hildyard, A. M., Fellow of Christ College, which we should be glad to transfer to these pages, but have not room for them. The last part of the volume is in a more serious strain, consisting mainly of religious poems and prayers, all translated with great beauty. But we must take leave of this agreeable collection of the gayeties and gravities of our learned brethren across the water. When will such a volume appear from an American University ?

Art. II. — 1. *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians.* By George Catlin. Written during Eight Years' Travel amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America in 1832, '33, '34, '35, '36, '37, '38, and '39. In 2 vols., 8vo., with 400 Illustrations, carefully engraved from his Original Paintings. pp. 264, 266. New York : Wiley & Putnam.

2. *American Antiquities and Researches into the Origin and History of the Red Race.* By Alexander W. Bradford. New York : Dayton & Saxton. Boston : Saxton & Pierce. 8vo. pp. 435.

Mr. Catlin, whose work lies before us, went to the western country, some eight or ten years ago, as a portrait and landscape painter, with an ardent enthusiasm for the Indian character, and a keen eye for the beautiful and the picturesque. A native of the sylvan valley of the Wyoming, his early impressions appear to have been tinctured with tales of the thrilling and tragic scenes of which that portion of Pennsylvania became so celebrated a theatre, during the American Revolution. But these, instead of creating preju-

dices in his mind against the race, who were the principal actors in these deeds of cruelty, would appear to have imparted an additional interest to their subsequent fate and fortunes.

An early bias for his art was smothered by parental preference for the legal profession, in the study and practice of which some five or six years were thrown away, when he resumed his pencil in the city which gave West to the art; and he soon found his preference fixed on the attractive and novel branch of it, which is furnished by the portraiture and scenery of Indian life. To pursue this with effect, he soon discovered that it would be necessary to leave the cities of the Atlantic coast, and proceed into the great area of the Mississippi valley, immense portions of which are still in the occupancy of the Indian tribes.

To enter this area, was, at once, to disclose the immensity, the perpetual expansion to which the circle of civilization is subject, and the great number of fierce, warlike, and barbaric tribes, who still flourish and reign over the vast prairies of the upper Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Arkansas. On reaching St. Louis, near the junction of the Mississippi and Missouri, he found himself only on the threshold of his field, and in his search for "the West" felt much like the poet, in making a similar inquiry;—

> "Ask where 's the North? at York 't is on the Tweed,
> In Scotland at the Orcades; and there,
> At Greenland, Zembla, and the Lord knows where."

Mr. Catlin proceeded up the Missouri in a steamboat to the mouth of the Yellowstone,—a computed distance of two thousand miles. He then returned to St. Louis, and, the next season, got under convoy of the exploratory detachment of United States Dragoons, who were sent to open an intercourse with, and demand reparation for some depredations committed by, remote tribes. This detachment (whose march is memorable for the death, by fever, of General H. Leavenworth, of the United States Army) set out from Fort Gibson, and laying its course in a southwest direction across the Arkansas, penetrated to the Camanche, Kiowa, and Pawnee Pict villages, near to the base of the Rocky Mountains,—a point only reached before by adventurous hunters and "trappers," or the trading caravans to Santa

Fe. He afterwards ascended the Mississippi from St. Louis to St. Anthony's Falls in a steamboat, descended it in a birchbark canoe to his starting-point, visited the seacoast of Florida, and, with the return of another season, revisited St. Peter's, by the way of the Lakes, and from this point penetrated to the *Coteau des Praries*, — a vast elevation, without forest, whose rocky foundations give limits and direction to the sweeping current of the Missouri. There he found and examined the Red Pipe-Stone quarry, so celebrated in the Indian lore of the West; and, in the *glazed* or *vitreous* surface of the precipitous quartzy rock overlying it, he verifies, without being aware of it, Captain Carver's story of the "Shining Mountains," which, like too many of this hardy old explorer's descriptions, have been long set down as fabulous.

Mr. Catlin also visited the chief points accessible to steamboats on the upper Lakes, passed across the territory of Wisconsin from Green Bay, and saw some other portions of the country, whose minuter features it is no part of our design to specify. The better part of eight years, with intervals of repose, was covered by these long, hazardous, and fatiguing journeys. Wherever he went he carried his easel, his portfolio, and his paint pots, and, for the time being, he erected his studio in the most wild and remote of the Indian hamlets. But above all, he carried his warm feelings of admiration for the nobler traits of the red race, his accurate observation of their personal features, their costume, and wild sports, and his pictorial skill in transferring those features to the canvass. His pencil seems to have had the effect of Goldsmith's flute upon those on whose hospitality he threw himself. It made him everywhere an agreeable visitor, and conciliated friendship.

He possessed still another trait, which is also a characteristic feature of his work, namely, an eye for the often magnificent and novel scenery, which came before him. He evinced a high degree of perseverance in the collection and preservation of the native costumes, implements, and manufactures, regardless of cost; and he added to all, a racy, straight-forward, off-hand mode of describing them. His portraits of chiefs, and other persons, are deemed to be faithful representations of their originals, and have merited the approbation of numerous and respectable individuals in the West,

acquainted with both. Numbers of the plates, illustrating his work, consist of full-length likenesses and groups, which accurately display the costumes and attitudes of the tribes he visited. Others depict their dwellings, ceremonial lodges, implements and arms, or striking features of the scenery, bringing vividly to the eye what books of travels in those regions have never before done so well.

In each of these recited branches of the economical and ceremonial history and present condition of the aboriginal race, Mr. Catlin is conceived to have supplied a *desideratum*. This constitutes, alone, the leading characteristic, and the chief merit, of the work. Others have described the physiognomy and dress of the Indians; Mr. Catlin has painted them. Books and letters and verbal reports, in one way or another, have heretofore apprized the public of novel and striking scenes in the cliffs and prairies, and wild and fantastic valleys, of the "far West"; but Mr. Catlin has portrayed them on his canvass, and he thus imparts a freshness and novelty to his pages, which cannot but impress the reader. Some of these plates convey an idea of the geological structure of the country.

The author, after his return, and during the intervals of his travels, attempted to turn to account his time, and money, and skill, by exhibiting his collection of paintings, costumes, &c., in this country, in which he excited a general interest; but without realizing, in some respects, the highest wishes of his friends, and the friends of the Indian race. His "Indian Gallery," the best of the kind ever exhibited, was visited and admired and praised. Although illustrating rather the ornamental, than the useful products of aboriginal skill, and thus differing from Mr. Dunn's "Chinese Museum," it was exceedingly attractive to all, and one of the best means, perhaps, of awakening sympathy for the race. He had also, in the course of his peregrinations, sketched the outlines of his observations, from time to time, for the newspapers of the day, through which they were warmly received, and extensively perused by the public. He took his collection to the seat of government at Washington, under the hope of depositing it there, for the future gratification and study of his countrymen; but it is still the condition of our affairs, to be too essentially engrossed with objects of a practical kind, to permit the application of large sums for the promotion of

the fine arts, or the patronage of science, letters, or antiquities. Under these circumstances, about two or three years ago, Mr. Catlin went to Europe, taking the result of his skill and enterprise with him, and we notice that he has established his "Gallery" in London. Such is a brief outline of the history and origin of this performance.

We have stated the prominent merits of the work, and shall subjoin a few extracts. We do not feel disposed to hold the author to a systematic plan, nor to represent him as having completely avoided descriptive, geographical, or theoretical errors, or literary blemishes. His method is discursive and rambling by design. He did not sit down to write a formal treatise or disquisition; far less to aim at a philosophical work. It was his design to send out sketches of Indian customs and manners, which, so far as they went, should exhibit the native in a new and true light. He wished to impart fresh interest to a subject that had been underrated, and had palled on the public appetite. He aimed to do with the pen, what he had so successfully done with the pencil. What impressed him as worthy of record, he recorded. He picked up traits, — he gleaned information, — not of the *dead*, but of the *living*, wherever he went. And to this end, pen and pencil were both employed. He often paddled his own canoe; he hunted buffaloes; he attended feasts and dances; his eye and his hand were in perpetual requisition. He had not leisure, or other means, to investigate traditions, or collate evidence. He put in his notebook, as he went along, whatever struck his thoughts, or pleased his fancy. Such are the impressions we derive from an attentive perusal of his book; and he appears to have feared, that the recasting of the matter thus thrown out, or its formal revision, or re-concoction, would detract from its interest, its freshness, or its originality. "I am travelling in this country," he says,* "not to advance or to prove *theories*, but to see all that I am able to see, and to tell it, in the simplest and most intelligible manner I can, to the world for their own conclusions; or for theories I may feel disposed to advance after I get out of this singular country, where all the powers of one's faculties are required, and much better employed, I consider, in helping him along, and

* Vol. I. p. 206.

in gathering materials, than in stopping to draw too nice and delicate conclusions by the way." And in this view, the title, prefixed, of "Letters and Notes," is appropriate. It would have added to their value, if the original *dates* had also been retained, as it would give precision to references, which may hereafter be more important, particularly in the estimate of numbers, &c., than at present.

About one third of the text of both volumes is devoted to the *Mandans*, and some adjacent tribes; and we regard this as one of the most interesting, original, and valuable parts of the author's observations. This would have been felt, had this tribe continued to occupy its somewhat peculiar position among the western stocks; but the author's descriptions have become the more important, from the subsequent annihilation of the entire tribe by the small-pox. This fatal disease was carried up the Missouri by a mulatto man on board a steamboat, which left St. Louis in the spring of 1837. The disease did not manifest itself until the boat had got up five hundred miles, and it became impossible, at this time, to arrest its progress among the tribes. Thousands of the bands inhabiting the upper portions of this river fell before it, but on none were its comparative ravages so great and appalling, as on the Mandans. Out of a population estimated at sixteen hundred, in July of that year, but thirty-one escaped with life; and these few, dejected, fear-stricken, and overwhelmed by the calamity of their countrymen, are represented to have destroyed themselves by jumping from precipices, or rushing upon the lances of their enemies. The fatality of its action upon this tribe, may be attributed in some degree to the fact of their living in a closely embodied form, in two villages compactly built, and surrounded by palisades, to keep off their enemies.

Mr. Catlin speaks in high terms of the personal bravery, the hospitality, dress, arms, and physical traits of this tribe, whom he regards as remotely of Welch origin. Lewis and Clarke had spoken of them as a tribe of lighter color than others. Numbers of them, it has also been observed, from an early period of our acquaintance with them, have light and very long hair and blue eyes. But in all other respects, they exhibit a striking similarity to the other leading members of the red race. What proportion of them are thus characterized is not stated, nor whether the intermarriages with Euro-

pean stocks, so common on the frontiers, have been greater or less than usual. It is stated, that they manufacture clay pots and other vessels, an art which all the American tribes possessed at the era of the discovery, but which nearly all of them have long dropped, supplying themselves, through the medium of the fur trade, with vessels of brass, copper, and tin. Several of their customs, as detailed by our author, are more revolting and barbarous than those of any known tribe on the continent. We refer, particularly, to the trial of bravery, or physical endurance, as exhibited in the sixty-sixth, sixty-seventh, and sixty-eighth plates of the first volume, and the accompanying text. Their language, judged by the specimens exhibited, bears a strong affinity to the Sioux ; and the ire with which the latter have at all times warred against them, partakes much of the bitterness of a family quarrel. It is believed there are facts within the range of American aboriginal history and antiquities, to countenance the tradition of an early migration of the ancient Britons to North America ; but, if we have not mistaken the chain of evidence, the supposed descendants of the captured colonists are to be sought for west and south of the late residence of the Mandans.

The military expedition from Fort Gibson on the banks of the Arkansas, to the hostile tribes living on the upper waters of Red River, before referred to, opened a new field for observation in the wide-spread circles of the red race. By extending the boundaries of our actual knowledge of the tribes to those Arabs of the southwest, the Camanches, and their almost equally equestrian neighbours, the Kiowas and Pawnee Picts, we have added to the preëxisting evidences, drawn from physiognomy, color, and customs, which, despite apparent discrepances of language, denote an original unity of the red race. The account of this expedition, given in the printed report of Colonel Dodge, who, after the demise of General Leavenworth, assumed the command, embraces valuable information, and indicates his efficiency as an officer. It is a subject of regret, that the extensive prevalence of fever among the troops, necessarily curtailed and limited their operations. Mr. Catlin represents the Camanches as rather low in stature, and somewhat heavy and ungraceful on their feet, but possessing great dexterity, and evincing ease and grace of manner, on horseback. He estimates their popula-

tion, very vaguely we think, at from thirty to forty thousand. He gives no specimens of their language, the shortness of his stay requiring all his time to be devoted to his pencil. From the names of the chiefs, whose portraits he painted, the sounds of *ts* and *tz* appear to distinguish it from the Pawnee and other dialects north of them. The same combination of consonants marks the names of the Wicos, and also of the Kiowas, a tribe living some four days' journey to the southwest, who are described as "a much finer looking race of men than either the Camanches or Pawnees, are tall and erect, with an easy and graceful gait, with long hair, cultivated oftentimes so as to reach nearly to the ground. They have, generally, the fine and Roman outline of head, that is so frequently found at the North, and decidedly distinct from the Camanches and Pawnee Picts." * This tribe, together with the Wicos and Pawnee Picts, appear to be living on terms of close alliance, and will, we apprehend, be found to possess stronger points of connexion than the philological affinities pointed out. Among this group, comprehending the southwest angle of the Union and extending largely into Texas, we notice the same fluent and frequent use of the letter *r* in their proper names, connected with the open vowel sounds *a*, *i*, *o*, which obtains in the Tuscarora and other kindred dialects of the Iroquois.

Another portion of our western country, to which Mr. Catlin brings the merit of original observation, is the vast semi-mountainous chain, which, rising near the Red River of Lake Winnipec, runs due south into the denuded prairie region, and terminates at a point nearly equidistant from the waters of the Mississippi and Missouri, in north latitude about 44°. To this elevated range, called the *Coteau des Prairies*, our author was led chiefly by the celebrity it had acquired in Indian traditions, as the locality of the dark red, easily cut, sedimentary mineral, out of which the tribes make their pipes. † And in this journey he appears, with his companion, a Mr. Wood, of England, as the first actual explorer. If any other traveller or curiosity-hunter had

* Vol. II. p. 74.

† Mr. Catlin is inadvertent in stating, that this is the only locality of this kind of stone in America. A similar stone, of darker red or chocolate color, occurs on a high hill on the banks of Chippewa river, in the Territory of Wisconsin.

ever before visited this locality, it is utterly unknown. It was not practicable in Carver's time. Mr. Featherstonhaugh failed in his attempt. The sanctity attached to the spot by the natives has opposed an obstacle to the advance of white men; and it is one which Mr. Catlin had to encounter. He found the quarry to be near its southern extremity, at the foot of a perpendicular stratified cliff of quartzy rock, thirty feet high, and two miles in extent. The face of this cliff, of which we have examined specimens from the hands of Mr. Catlin, is perfectly vitreous and shining, and, in this respect, totally unlike any other non-volcanic rock. That it is of a secondary character, is evident from its stratification and overlying position, with respect to the pipe-stone *stratum;* and this fact is furthermore indicated by the indistinctly granular structure of some portions of it. It is, in fact, a granular quartz, and may be regarded as part of an immense formation of this kind, lying at a great altitude at a former period over a large portion of the area of the northwest, of which the solitary locality at the falls of Puckagama, on the upper Mississippi, is a part.

Mr. Catlin found at this elevation large primitive boulders of the erratic block group, resting on the secondary series; an occurrence remarkable for the magnitude of the blocks, but not otherwise differing from the common aspect of this feature in American geology. The parent bed of these boulders need not be sought at a point more remote than the banks of the upper Mississippi, between Soc and Elk and De Corbeau rivers, where the primitive granitical group were foound, in a highly crystalline state, by General Cass, in his expedition to the head-waters of the Mississippi, in 1820.

The high value attached by the aborigines to this species of material for their pipes, and its intimate connexion with their superstitious rites and religious ceremonies, have led them to resort to this spot, in all past ages, with feelings approaching to veneration. If it has not been made another Delphic temple of Diana, where votaries came to solve their doubts and obtain responses, it has greatly resembled it in the moral influences shed over half America, by furnishing to the tribes, in this stone, the symbolical medium of exhibiting their necromantic arts, solemnizing their religion, or sealing

their political covenants. Mr. Catlin observed the rocks in the vicinity, to be covered with inscriptions of various kinds, left there by the natives as memorials of their visits, or evidences of their martial feats, their lineage, or their devotion.

It would afford us pleasure to submit further extracts from his work, verifying our commendations of his descriptions of the wild hunting sports of the West, the rich and varied scenes over which he passed, and the thrilling ceremonies of which he was so often a spectator. But the limits to which we are confined, forbid it, and we must refer the reader to the work itself for this gratification. As little space have we to denote those instances which we have marked in the reading, as errors of fact or opinion, owing to haste, bad interpreters, a desire to grasp more than fell in his way, or scantiness of research. Most of these instances occur in those branches of the subject, however, on which the author confessedly does not take credit to himself, or to which he has devoted but little attention, such as the past history of the tribes, and those general considerations which belong to their origin, their antiquities, or their languages. Of many of the wild and free tribes roving in the West, and their mode of subsistence, dress, hunting scenes, or peculiar ceremonies, so little was known, that almost any thing that was observed, was likely to have the charm of novelty, and there was but little danger of running counter to prior observers. But, when our author has touched on nations and tribes nearer home and better known, or taken up topics which require care and study, we have felt the wish, either that he had yielded more time to the subject, or been directed by a sounder logic in some of his deductions. The proposition which is confidently made and repeated, that, out of forty-eight languages in North America, thirty are radically different, and eighteen only dialects, unsupported as it is by data, appears wholly gratuitous; but five vocabularies, of one hundred words each, are furnished, and even of these, one fifth at least is adverse to the proposition. Mr. Gallatin, who has profoundly investigated this subject, is of opinion, that the uniformity of character in the grammatical structure and forms of the indigenous languages, denotes a common origin, however varied by verbal changes and the process of

intermixture.* Other eminent philologists have advanced analogous views.

"Iroquois," is a generic term, bestowed by the French on that type of languages of which the Five Nations, the Tuscaroras, and originally the Wyandots, spoke dialects. The term, however, was early restricted to the two former; and the latter, for distinction's sake, and owing to striking events in their history, were called *Hurons.* When, therefore, the author speaks of the St. Regis Indians, as he manifestly does, (Vol. II. p. 106.,) as Iroquois, in contradiction to the Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Cayugas, &c., whose council-fire and seat of political authority was at Onondaga, he is laboring under a gross error. So, as a geographical question, when speaking (Vol. I. p. 53,) of the "Ojibbeways," of Red River and the Assinaboin borders, as separated by "several hundred miles" of territory from the Chippewas of Lake Superior, and to be without knowledge of them, or traditions of the manner or the time of their severance, he is wholly under the influence of a mistake. They are the same people in language, customs, and traditions, and occupy the entire line of country from southeast to northwest without interruption.

We regret to see Ee-tow-o-kaun, a Stockbridge Indian of the ancient Mohegan stock, represented with war feathers on his head. It is half a century, at least, since this tribe laid aside this sign of the barbaric state, while under instruction in Massachusetts, and assumed the civilized dress, and many of them embraced Christianity. As a member of the Christian church, in which he is represented in the text following the hundred and ninety-ninth plate of Vol. II. with a psalm-book, shot-pouch, bell, and plumes, the exhibition appears at least inappropriate, and we doubt whether it would not, if known to his pastor, the Rev. Cutting Marsh, afford grounds for church censure.

Mr. Catlin (Vol. I. p. 193,) offers some original remarks on the style of the Ancient Mexican Drawings, which appear to be entitled to attention. No one has surveyed the outlines of the Aztec head, as generally drawn, without something bordering on surprise at its angular character. He noticed a very similar style of depicting the human head among

* *Archæologia Americana*, Vol. II. pp. 142 *et. seq.*

the Mandans (see Plate 65, Vol. II.), although they have nothing in their own tribe to have copied it from; and he conceives this peculiarity to be a mere defect of drawing. Where the heads of horses and other animals are found so much out of drawing as they are in ancient Mexican paintings, it is a fair inference to conclude, as he does, that the human figure was equally so. And this craniological wonder would therefore end, if this theory be true, in the discovery that the Mexicans were miserable limners. There are, indeed, none of our native tribes, in which their rude drawings are not most strikingly out of proportion, violating the natural features and outlines of all the animal creation. The whole tenor of the author's remarks on this subject appear to us well founded.

He is less at home in his note on the origin of *wampum*, an article which he found to be but little used by the tribes of the upper Missouri, and the more remote parts of the West and Southwest. How this is, we cannot say. Wampum is not, however, as is stated (Vol. I. p. 222), made from freshwater shells, nor prepared by the Indians at all. This article has, for several centuries, constituted a regular item in the invoices of the fur trade. It is manufactured exclusively by white men, from the clam, and consists of the blue and white kinds, which are sold by the grain. *Kinnikinnick* (Vol. I. p. 234) is a name for the leaves of the *Uva ursi*, and not applied to other substitutes for tobacco. *Assinaboin* signifies, not "stone boilers," but "stone Sioux"; and is derived from *Bwoin*, a Sioux, and *Ossin*, a stone, in the Chippewa language. But these, and other verbal inaccuracies, are taxable to the interpreters, on whom our author was dependent, — a class of men, who are too often ignorant and depraved, having really but little knowledge of either the Indian or the English language, destitute of the power of accurate discrimination, and with an utter disregard of moral responsibility. Such men are prone to fasten themselves upon every stranger who visits an Indian trading-post, a government fort, or a frontier village; and, having the element of the marvellous largely developed themselves, think nothing so clever as the imposition of strange and wild stories, theories, traditions, translations, and downright perversions of truth, upon the hapless inquirer. Many of our difficulties with the aboriginal tribes, growing out of treaties and councils, originate in a similar cause; namely, false interpretation;

and we advise no one, after he has reached the point of his proposed observation, to take out his note-book and pencil, before he has assured himself, that the habitual mis-pronouncer and mistranslator at his service is not also a most consummate liar. Most of these persons are either petty traders, or dependants upon the larger trading-houses, — a class, against whom Mr. Catlin, along with travellers generally, inveighs in no measured terms. Whether the Indian mind, however, after an intercourse of two or three centuries with these and other classes of no very gentle frontiersmen, is "a beautiful blank," — a term twice employed, (Vol. I. p. 182, and Vol. II. p. 245,) — "on which any thing can be written," may well be questioned. We are inclined to think, if we may preserve the figure, that it is a blank leaf of an original folio, which has been badly blotted over by vices, superstitions, and crimes, of divers hues, which it would require some chemical agent of strong power to discharge, so as to restore its immaculate hue. And such a process we believe the Indian mind must undergo, before the words *Christianity* and *civilization* can be successfully written upon it. Civilization is a process of slow growth, and the Indians have fearful odds to contend against, whilst the proportion of those who plant, to those who pluck up, is as one to one thousand. And it requires, for its successful introduction among our native tribes, aids and influences of no less potency than the Gospel offers. With this it is believed the prospect, however dark its past or present appearance, promises well. Without this the labor is the labor of Sisyphus.

How the red men of this continent came into their present degraded condition, — how, indeed, they came *here* at all, — has been a topic of enlightened inquiry from the remotest times. And their monuments and antiquities constitute one of the best means whereby this question may be answered. Mr. Bradford, in the work whose title is prefixed to this article, has examined the evidence bearing on this branch of the subject with clearness and candor. A professional man himself, and habituated to the distinctions which are required to exhibit truth in its legal lights, he has possessed an advantage in taking up a mass of materials scattered through a wide range of books, old and new ; and, we think, he has brought to the task a spirit of research, and a degree of ability, which

are highly creditable to his powers of discrimination. He does not profess to have derived any portion of his facts from personal observation. He does not offer any part of them as new, or as not before extant in printed works. But he appears to have had the best means of access to existing sources ; and has manifestly gleaned over a very wide field.

The plan of his work led him to direct his attention, in the first place, to the character of the mounds, buildings, and artificial remains, in both divisions of the continent ; to which he subjoins an inquiry into the origin of the race, whom he denominates emphatically the *red race.* The first part is chiefly descriptive ; the second, inferential. He not only draws proofs from the character of former or still existing architectural ruins ; but he examines history, ancient and modern ; he goes to the original seats of the human race, their migrations, traditions, early maritime knowledge ; the thirst of gain or glory, which carried their descendants over the globe ; their languages, their astronomy, and their religion. He devotes a careful and comprehensive attention to the physiognomy and physiology of the various tribes scattered over the continent from Cape Horn to the Arctic ocean, and from Cape Cod to the mouth of the Columbia, and he comes to his conclusions fraught with the products of investigation, and guided by the lights of induction. In this respect, no two works, bearing on one subject, could possibly be brought together, differing more widely in their character, than those which have prompted these remarks. Both authors have rendered a service to the reading public, but rendered it in distinct departments ; and have excited an interest chiefly in two separate classes. Sketches, and rambles, and pictures will please the one ; facts, reasons, and conclusions will delight the other. In one, the present predominates, in the other, the past ; and while in the "Letters and Notes" we derive our enjoyment through the external organs, in the "Antiquities and Researches," the chief pleasure of the repast arises from intellectual stimulants.

It would afford us pleasure, did circumstances permit, to examine at some length the course of proof, on which Mr. Bradford's principal conclusions are grounded, and to submit passages from the work, which have attracted our attention. We also designed to take up the subject of the Western mounds, with the view of not only submitting our opin-

ions on the subject of their origin, and their separate and distinct characters, — tracing them to corresponding eras, — but with the ulterior intention of showing how large a number of these noted objects of theory and description, are wholly *natural* or geological, and never had a shovel-full of earth put upon them by man. Such we may say, in brief, is the great mound of St. Louis, the Blue mound of Wisconsin, Mount Joliet of Illinois, and very many other and lesser mounds, which still hold their places in the catalogue of artificial structures. It is admitted, that some of these were used by the natives for mound purposes, either from their commanding position, or the almost artificial symmetry of their forms, as in the instance of Mount Joliet. But this only proves the sagacity of the red race, who thereby avoided a most onerous labor. The first visitors and explorers of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, finding indubitable proofs in the mounds and circumvallations on the alluvial plains, that the country had before been inhabited and abandoned, gave a loose to their imaginations, and converted every conical hill into a mound, and every square-faced one into a fort. Subsequent and recent examinations have however shown, that there is a class of the reputed mounds which are wholly of a diluvial character, — consisting of regular layers of sand and clay and loam and gravel, interspersed with sandstone and granite boulders, like the adjacent plains.

It was our design, we repeat, to introduce some observations on this subject, in connexion with the descriptions of Mr. Bradford. But we are compelled to omit them at present. The topic, we believe, is invested with a revived interest, on both sides of the Atlantic, and may be hereafter resumed. If "that which makes the past and future predominate over the present, exalts us in the scale of thinking beings," we cannot better, than in this way, perform a part of our duty to the public ; and it is in this higher sense, we conceive, that

"The proper study of mankind is man."

The term "Red Race," chosen by Mr. Bradford as the subject of his researches, reveals at once the leading idea of his theory. He deems the entire race of red hunters who cover the continent, to be a homogeneous and primitive stock of the human family, not derivable, or derived, from any one

existing nation or people, now known by name to Europe, Asia, or Africa. He characterizes this race by the generic color of the skin, eyes, and hair, — the same, with slight variations, in every tribe ; by a general agreement in stature and physiognomy ; by manners, customs, and a religion essentially the same ; and by languages constructed on similar grammatical principles. The state of arts, however different in different tribes and latitudes, is not a bar to the general theory ; for much of this difference may be owing to climate, natural productions, or other merely extrinsic causes.

Asia and Polynesia appear to him to have been the original seats of this race, immediately prior to their emigration to this continent. And the population may have been originally introduced at various eras, by various means, and from separate parts of the designated region. It is not improbable, indeed, that the more favored regions of the Mediterranean, such as ancient Etruria, confessedly inhabited by a red-skinned people, may have contributed to the ancient American population. Such a theory lays a broader basis to build on, and accounts for a number of the phenomena in our aboriginal history and antiquities, not susceptible, as far as yet appears, of a satisfactory solution on other grounds. We had the pleasure, some few years ago, of bringing to the notice of our readers, a work* expressing similar views, in some essential particulars ; and felt convinced at the time, that the acumen and comprehensive spirit with which the topic was handled must secure for it the respect of all future inquirers.

Mr. Bradford has employed the subject of American antiquities, in the same manner, and to the same general effect, that philology was wielded in that learned performance. He has broken the shackles, which have bound the hands of so many previous inquirers (and indeed himself at a former time is among the number), namely, the great stress laid on a special emigration across Behring's Strait. He has divested the subject of a good deal of the needless mystery surrounding it. Taking common sense and plain reason as a guide, and relying on original sources of thought, he has prepared a very intelligible and valuable treatise on one of the most abstruse topics of American history. We cannot

* *Archæologia Americana*, Vol. II. — See *North American Review*, Vol. XLV. pp. 34 *et seq.*

aver our acquiescence in all its details and all its positions. Some of his conclusions are too rigidly drawn. We believe there is a chain of evidence to arise from these same mounds and tombs, which is yet to tell us, in sounds and words, something more certain with respect to the tale of the early connexion between the races of the old and new world. But, so far as the information is before the public, this work brings down an epitome of its history to the close of 1841. And it is a work from the perusal of which no one, who appreciates the subject, can arise without being either gratified or instructed.

Art. III. — *Collections of the New York Historical Society.* Second Series. Volume I. New York. 8vo. pp. 486.

In no department of literature has a greater revolution taken place in the course of a few years, than in that to which this volume is a contribution. The new taste which has grown up should be fostered and encouraged, as tending to give us a national character ; as meliorating the feelings of the community, warming their affections for the great and glorious deeds of their progenitors, and prompting to an imitation of their virtues, sacrifices, and devotion to the public weal. And it would seem, that, if "history may be regarded as the record of a series of experiments eliciting the social nature of man," accounts of the formation of our early settlements, and of the growth of this immense Empire of the West from the mere handful of adventurers who formed its beginning, must be of much greater value, than histories of those conquerors of nations, whose only glory was in the destruction of works of human art, and in drenching the earth with the blood of its inhabitants.

The encouragement of such historical studies has been regarded as in itself an evidence of the advance of a people in civilized life. "Here," says Southey, in his "History of Brazil," when speaking of one of the Captaincies, — "Here the first sugar-canes were planted, and here the first cattle were reared, and here the other Captaincies stocked themselves with both. Whether the honor of having introduced

them into Brazil be due to the founder of the colony, is not stated. A battle or massacre would have been recorded. He who thus benefits mankind in a savage age, is deified ; in an enlightened one, he receives his due tribute of praise ; but in all the intermediate stages of barbarity and semi-barbarity, all such actions are overlooked."

The work before us, is the first volume in a new series of the Collections of the New York Historical Society ; and is almost exclusively taken up with the annals of the Dutch Colonists, "by whom the arts of civilization were originally planted on the banks of the Hudson." * It is true, that Chancellor Kent, in his "Anniversary Discourse," delivered before that Society in 1828, and which is included in this volume, describes the Dutch Colonial Annals as being of "a tame and pacific character, and generally dry and uninteresting." This was undoubtedly the case with most of those which were then known to the public, and of those only the worthy Chancellor was speaking ; but we think that any person who will faithfully examine the work now under consideration, will arrive at the conclusion, that, however "pacific" may be their general character, they are far from being uninteresting.

The gentleman, by whom this volume is understood to have been prepared, † has discharged this duty faithfully. A more valuable collection of early historical documents has not been published at any time in this country ; and, if its sale is in proportion to the merits of the production, the Society will have no reason to complain of having embarked in the expense of its publication.

As a frontispiece, we have a map of the New Netherlands, with a view of New Amsterdam (now New York), as it appeared in A. D. 1656. It is copied from the map of Vander Donck, and it appears from examination to be the same as the map drawn and published by Nicholas John Visscher, at Amsterdam, in 1659, — which latter is, however, upon a much larger scale. A small edition of Visscher's map has been republished in New York within the last seven or eight years. It is a great curiosity, and enables us to form some judgment of the strange ideas entertained by the early Dutch settlers in regard to the land in which their

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*See Chancellor Kent's *Anniversary Discourse*, 1828.
† George Folsom, Esquire, of New York.

happy lot was cast. The map of Vander Donck only extends to the "Marquaa Kill," or the Mohawk River, and beyond that he has designated the country generally as "Quebecq," or the French possessions; while that of Visscher, on the contrary, extends the New Netherlands to the "Great River of the Canadas"; but yet, of that extended tract of country, he seems to have had no better idea than that entertained by his predecessor, for he gives us no names of places, rivers, or lakes, but merely fills up the space with figures of bears, deer, and other wild animals; and even the great lakes of Ontario, Erie, &c., are wanting, and in their places he has laid down two large rivers, running nearly parallel with each other. On both maps we find many names, retained at the present day, as "Kinder Hoeck," "Klaverrak," "Kats Kill," and others.

Another excellent and curious map of the whole country, claimed by the Dutch as the New Netherlands, is annexed to Lambrechtsen's valuable history of that country, published at Middleburg, Holland, in 1818, the outline of which is from the best map of Arrowsmith at that period, in which the old Indian and Dutch names are inserted from the ancient maps of Vander Donck and others; and those of headlands, bays, and islands, have also been compared with Arend Roggersen's "Marine Atlas."

The question of boundaries, and extent of territory, was always attended with great and serious difficulties from the first settlement of this country. Although the States-General of Holland, in the rules which they prescribed for the government of the West India Company in their foreign possessions, declared, that "the planters should be allowed to settle themselves freely on the coasts and along the banks of the navigable rivers, provided they satisfied the natives for the soil of which they took possession"—which condition was always rigidly adhered to,—yet we cannot find that the Dutch Colonial Government, or their inhabitants, ever extended their purchases of land from the Indians beyond the "Marquaa Kill." But still, probably, after the rule "never to lose any thing by not claiming enough," they extended their colony on their maps up to the river St. Lawrence; and the English, after their conquest in 1664, made and insisted upon the same claim. The French, on the other hand, appear to have disregarded those claims, as made both by the Dutch and the

English, and to have insisted, that the country belonged to them by right of discovery and possession. An examination of this claim of the French, and of the course they pursued to establish and perpetuate their dominion here, is a very interesting inquiry. In the first volume of Sanson's Great Atlas, published at Antwerp, in elephantine folio, about 1738, (we speak from recollection, not having the book before us,) is a map of North America, as published by the French geographer ; which shows, that they claimed all the country from the Canadas proper to the Gulf of Mexico, and almost up to the gates of Schenectady, taking in all of Ohio, and the Northwestern States, a large part of Virginia, with the Southwestern States, and indeed all the Valley of the Mississippi.

That they truly entertained the idea of enforcing their claim to this immense tract of country, is evident, from the numerous forts and trading-posts which they erected, extending in a line from Montreal to New Orleans ; and also from the numerous publications on that subject, both in France and England, from 1715 to 1765. And a grand scheme it was ; which, if it had been sustained by the French government at home with men and treasure, as it merited, would have crippled the English colonies, and, in a comparatively short period of time, have formed such a *cordon* of towns and fortified settlements around them, as they could not have got rid of but by an immense exertion of the whole force of the British Empire, if possible to be done at all. About the year 1754, the result of this policy on the part of the French government in confining the English colonies to a narrow strip of land bordering on the Atlantic coast, became so apparent, that resistance could be no longer delayed ; and this gave rise to the Congress of Albany, in 1754, the first ever held by the American colonies, and to the subsequent wars, which ended in the conquest of the Canadas. The proceedings of that Congress show, that the colonies had become thoroughly awakened to the overpowering necessity of arresting at once the progress of the French in America. After taking into consideration the situation of the English settlements, they represented to the Crown,

"that it was the evident design of the French to surround the British colonies ; to fortify themselves on the back thereof ; to take and keep possession of the heads of all the important rivers ; to draw over the Indians to their interest, and,

with the help of such Indians, added to such forces as were then arrived, and might afterwards arrive, or be sent from Europe, to be in a capacity of making a general attack on the several governments; and, if at the same time a strong naval force should be sent from France, there was the utmost danger that the whole continent would be subjected to that Crown."

Numerous traces of French enterprise are still to be seen throughout the great valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, in their ancient settlements, and in the language, manners, and customs of the people. Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, was one of the most formidable of this line or *cordon* of forts and trading-posts. Another portion of it, still existing, is the village of Cahokia, in Illinois; in which is a church, built by the French settlers in 1698, having "battled with the storms of more than a century." The bell which hangs in its tower was brought from France more than a century and a half ago, and still, on every Sabbath morn, calls the people to the offices of praise and thanksgiving, as it has done for ages past. Numerous other instances might be cited, but it is needless; every traveller through that district of country can call them to mind.

It is a curious and valuable historical fact, not generally known, that Thomas Jenkins, Esquire, in 1763, submitted to the British ministry a project to prevent the emancipation of the American colonies, and to retain them for ever in their obedience to the crown. His first proposition was, the keeping on foot most of the troops then in America, which were soon after disbanded or recalled at the peace. The forts, which were scattered along the Indian frontier, and which were afterwards demolished or abandoned, were to be preserved. New ones were to be erected on the coast, *ostensibly* against the invasions of the French. The lands granted to the veterans were always to be within the precincts of a fort, which, on the frontiers especially, must very soon have formed respectable military townships. Jenkins was well acquainted with America, from a residence of considerable length in Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, and he also had some employment in the English army that conquered Canada; which enabled him to become conversant with the operation of the policy of the French; and it was

their scheme, somewhat modified, which he thus proposed to the consideration of Lord Bute and his associates. Providence, however, so ordered matters, that the English ministry did not regard this project with any favor, and, by rejecting it, facilitated the progress of the American Revolution.

We have been so long taught to regard the trade of the American colonies previous to our Revolution as trifling, that we are sometimes in doubt as to what could have been the reasons, which actuated two mighty nations to contest with so much pertinacity for the possession of a wilderness. But in that belief of the trifling amount of the early American trade, we are in great error. It was in truth of much importance; and so much so, that, to obtain this trade to themselves exclusively, was the cause of many wars, and much diplomatic chicanery, between England, France, and Spain.

The French, during the three quarters of a century they were in possession of that country, kept up an extensive trade with the Indians, with whom they were on friendly terms, and with their mother country. They also in Illinois cultivated the grape with much success; and it is recorded, that, in 1769, they there manufactured one hundred and ten hogsheads of wine. From the dedication of a very pretty little work, called "Puckle's Club," printed at London in the year 1733, it appears, that the duties and customs paid by Micajah Perry, Thomas Lane, and Richard Perry, of London, three "Virginia merchants," during the year 1698–9, to the crown of Great Britain, amounted to two hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling. This amount of duties and customs was paid by them for the articles which they imported from America, and from England sent to other portions of the world, and for goods which they exported to this continent during that single year, commencing March 15th, 1698, and ending March 15th, 1699. This Micajah Perry was an alderman of the city of London in 1740; and in that year was nominated, at a meeting of the Livery at Vintner's Hall, as one of the representatives of the city in Parliament. The term "Virginia merchant," about that period, and for some considerable time previous, was a very honorable appellation in the mercantile world, and appropriated to a particular class of men, as much as titles of nobility are in the present day. So in the "Gentleman's Maga-

zine," for July, 1740, in the list of marriages, we find that of "Mr. Buchanan, Virginia merchant, to Miss Wilson." For commercial purposes, that title, for so it was in reality, was applied to merchants trading with the colonies between New England and Florida, and with the West Indies. Previously to our revolutionary war, the Virginia merchants of Glasgow in Scotland were looked up to as an aristocracy; they had a privileged walk at the Cross, which they trod in long scarlet cloaks and bushy wigs; and such was then the state of society, that when any of the most respectable master tradesmen had occasion to speak to those merchant lords, he was required to walk on the other side of the street, till he was fortunate enough to meet the eye of the patrician, for it would have been presumption to approach him. The foregoing statements exhibit the colonial trade as being at that early period any thing but limited or trifling. And when we consider for but one moment, we see that it could not have been limited; for almost every article which the colonists made use of in that part of the country above mentioned, except their bread stuffs, and sometimes even those, were imported from Europe. They manufactured scarcely any thing for themselves; and it was the European colonial policy at all times, to prevent them, in the words of one of their legislators, from making among themselves "even a hobnail"; and to oblige them to export through the mother country all their products. With such a policy, and the rapid increase of the colonies in population almost immediately after their settlement, the trade with them must necessarily have been very extensive and important.

So strongly imbued were the political economists of Europe with this colonial policy, that even after our revolutionary contest, many of them were inclined to regard the results of that policy as arising from the natural state of this country, rather than from the curbs and restraints imposed upon the activity and energy of the people. And about the year 1790, most of the European writers in relation to the United States regarded this country as purely agricultural, and as destined from natural causes ever to remain so. The Abbé Raynal, we think, went so far as to hold, that the United States could never advance beyond the condition of a purely agricultural people; and that the character of the soil was

such, that not more than ten millions of inhabitants could obtain a reasonable subsistence from even that pursuit.

The old map of Vander Donck has led us in quite a discursive route, but we trust not entirely uninstructive; for much of the matter of which we have discoursed by the way, — in rather a colloquial manner, we admit, — is not to be met with in any history that we have ever seen.

The first article in this volume is the "Anniversary Discourse" delivered by Chancellor Kent before the Historical Society, on the 6th of December, 1838, of which it is only necessary to say, that it sustains the high reputation as a writer hitherto acquired by that distinguished jurist. In it he pays a merited compliment to the exertions of the associations of a similar character in other States, "and particularly in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania"; speaks of them as having "hitherto surpassed us in the extent and value of their researches"; and expresses the hope, that the Society he was addressing would feel an additional stimulus to acquit themselves of their duty, and throw back upon the annals of the Empire State, "some of the light and lustre which emanate from the spirit of the age." The volume now before us is an evidence, that the hope thus expressed is not doomed to disappointment.

This discourse presents an able and concise view of the domestic history of New York, with reflections necessarily arising from the subject.

Chancellor Kent takes a very proper view of the importance of such historical inquiries, and one which cannot in our judgment be commended too highly to the consideration of our citizens. He observes;

> "The Eastern descendants of the pilgrims are justly proud of their colonial ancestors; and they are wisely celebrating, on all proper occasions, the memory and merits of the original founders of their republics, in productions of great genius and classical taste."

He asks, —

> "Why should we, in this State, continue any longer comparatively heedless of our own glory, when we also can point to a body of illustrious annals?"

And, — as offering a strong inducement to exertion, — while portraying the character of the original Dutch settlers, he

speaks of the origin of his city and State, in the following beautiful manner ;

"Our origin is within the limits of well-attested history. This at once dissipates the enchantments of fiction ; and we are not permitted, like the nations of ancient Europe, to deduce our lineage from super-human beings, or to clothe the sage and heroic spirits, who laid the foundations of our Empire, with the exaggerations and lustre of poetical invention. Nor do we stand in need of the aid of such machinery. It is a sufficient honor to be able to appeal to the simple and severe records of truth. The Dutch discoverers and settlers of New Netherlands, were grave, temperate, firm, persevering men, who brought with them the industry, the economy, the simplicity, the integrity, and the bravery of their Belgic sires ; and with those virtues they also imported the lights of the Roman civil law, and the purity of the Protestant faith. To that period we are to look with chastened awe and respect, for the beginnings of our city, and the works of our primitive fathers, — our *Albani patres, atque altæ mœnia Romæ.*"

The second article which presents itself, is the celebrated Voyage of John De Verrazzano, along the North American coast, from Carolina to Newfoundland, in the year 1524. This appears in the original Italian, and also in a good translation, made by Joseph G. Cogswell, Esquire, a member of the Society. This account of Verrazzano's first voyage to the Western continent is in a letter written by him to Francis the First, of France, by whose order he had undertaken it. The translation is said to be made from a copy of the original manuscript existing in the Magliabecchian Library, at Florence, presented to the Society by G. W. Greene, Esquire, Consul of the United States at Rome.

This document is in itself very interesting, and becomes more important from the fact of its being the earliest original account of the Atlantic coast of the United States now in existence. It is worthy of remark, that the name by which this continent is now known, is not used by Verrazzano in his description of his voyage. On this point we would here remark, that in Apiani's "Cosmography," a very curious work, printed in 4to., at Antwerp, in 1564, — and containing one of the oldest maps of the World, upon which the continents of North and South America are laid down, that we have had the good fortune to meet with, — what we now call North America is described as a narrow tongue of land projecting

from the Southern continent, with a handsome open north-eastern passage to the East Indies, and is designated as "Baccalao"; while South America is accurately marked out with its present form, and called "America," — showing, that, although South America was at that time pretty well known, there was a complete ignorance in respect to the Northern continent, excepting portions of its Atlantic coast. And what renders the matter more curious is, that Campanella, in his advice to the king of Spain, on the establishment of an Universal Monarchy, (translated into English, and published with a preface, by the celebrated William Prynne, 4to., London, 1659,) speaks of North America by the name of "Bacalaos." The Portuguese to this day, call dried cod-fish "bacalao." It may be, that the fish has derived its name from the ancient name of the country from which it was brought.

Verrazzano gives us a very interesting account of the people whom he met with in coasting along this country. He exhibits them in their natural state, as they appeared before they were contaminated and debased by an intercourse with Europeans. If our readers derive one half the gratification from the perusal of his account of them, that we have, they will not only excuse, but thank us for affording them the opportunity. It should not, however, prevent them from procuring the book itself, for there are many gems of this nature, which it would not be just, if it was our province, to select. After describing his coasting along the shore, he says;

"The inhabitants being numerous, we saw everywhere a multitude of fires. While at anchor on this coast, there being no harbour to enter, we sent a boat on shore with twenty-five men to obtain water, but it was not possible to land without endangering the boat, on account of the immense high surf thrown up by the sea, as it was an open roadstead. Many of the natives came to the beach, indicating by various friendly signs that we might trust ourselves on shore. One of their noble deeds of friendship deserves to be made known to your Majesty. A young sailor was attempting to swim ashore through the surf to carry them some knick-knacks, as little bells, looking-glasses, and other like trifles; when he came near three or four of them he tossed the things to them, and turned about to get back to the boat, but he was thrown over by the waves, and so dashed about that he lay, as it were, dead upon the beach. When those people saw him in this situation, they ran and took him up by the head, legs, and arms, and

carried him to a distance from the surf; the young man, finding himself borne off in this way, uttered very loud shrieks in fear and dismay, while they answered as they could in their language, showing him that he had no cause for fear. Afterwards they laid him down at the foot of a little hill, when they took off his shirt and trowsers, and examined him, expressing the greatest astonishment at the whiteness of his skin. Our sailors in the boat seeing a great fire made up, and their companion placed very near it, full of fear, as is usual in all cases of novelty, imagined that the natives were about to roast him for food. But as soon as he had recovered his strength, after a short stay with them, showing by signs that he wished to return aboard, they hugged him with great affection, and accompanied him to the shore; then leaving him, that he might feel more secure, they withdrew to a little hill, from which they watched him until he was safe in the boat. This young man remarked that these people were black like the others, that they had shining skins, middle stature, and sharper faces, and very delicate bodies and limbs, and that they were inferior in strength, but quick in their minds." — pp. 43, 44.

It is well here to remark, that the early navigators were accustomed to call all people darker than themselves, "of black or dark complexion."

At a distance of fifty leagues from the spot where the adventure before narrated occurred, but at what particular locality we are unable from the vagueness of his description now to determine, Verrazzano describes the country as having "many vines growing naturally, which entwine about the trees, and run up upon them as they do in the plains of Lombardy." And of them, he says;

"These vines would doubtless produce excellent wine if they were properly cultivated and attended to, as we have often seen the grapes which they produce, very sweet and pleasant, and not unlike our own. They must be held in estimation by them, as they carefully remove the shrubbery from around them, wherever they grow, to allow the fruit to ripen better. We found also wild roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of plants and fragrant flowers different from our own." — p. 45.

Those of our readers who are acquainted with the voyages of the Northmen to Vinland, will recognise a great similarity between their description of the country, and that above extracted from Verrazzano.

Towards the close of this account of his voyage, Verraz-

zano describes a harbour which he visited on our coast, as "situated in the parallel of Rome, being 41° 40′ of North latitude," — which, he says, looks towards the south, with a large bay, twenty leagues in circumference, "in which are five small islands of great fertility and beauty, covered with large and lofty trees. Among these islands any fleet, however large, might ride safely, without fear of tempest or other dangers."

Dr. Samuel Miller, in his "Discourse before the New York Historical Society," published in the first volume of the former series of their Collections, regarded this description as applicable to the bay and harbour of New York. And Lambrechtsen in his "Description of the New Netherlands," anxious as he is to give the honor of the first discovery to Hudson, and with all his ardor for the glory of Dutch seamanship, examines the question with much care; and, although he propounds some doubts and reasons in opposition to Verrazzano's claim, by no means comes to a satisfactory result against it. The editor of the volume now under consideration, with much reason on his side, thinks the description given by Verrazzano applies to Narraganset Bay, and the harbour of Newport, in Rhode Island, and not to that of New York. We are rather inclined to be of his opinion, upon the hasty examination we have given to the question; but do not wish to conclude ourselves on that point. *

We are next presented with the Indian tradition of the first arrival of Europeans at Manhattan Island, derived from the manuscripts deposited among the Collections of the Society, by the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D., to whom it was communicated by the Rev. John Heckewelder, the cele-

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*It is supposed that Verrazzano first arrived on the American coast about Wilmington, in North Carolina; from which point he proceeded south to Georgia, and then changed his course, and voyaged northward to about latitude 40° north, where he entered the harbour we have above described.

It is curious to witness the anxiety manifested by some writers, to secure to their own country the glory of having produced the original discoverer of this continent. As

> "Seven famous cities strove for Homer dead,
> Through which the living Homer begged his bread," —

so it was with Columbus. Disregarded and wronged in life, he was glorified and honored when dead; and, as if to carry out the parallel with the Grecian poet, in the preface to Molloy, *De Jure Maritimo*, the author affirms, that Columbus was *born* in England, but resided at Genoa.

brated Moravian missionary among the Indians of Pennsylvania, who has left us a valuable historical account of those Aborigines, and of the exertions of the Moravian missionaries for their religious improvement, and their culture in morals and civilization. In a letter which accompanies this tradition, Mr. Heckewelder says; "As I receive my information from Indians, in their language and style, I return it in the same way. *Facts* are all I aim at, and, from my knowledge of the Indians, I do not believe every one's story. The enclosed account is, I believe, as authentic as any thing of the kind can be obtained."

In this tradition it is stated, that all the Indians became intoxicated, during which time the whites confined themselves to their ships. It is said that the Delaware Indians to this day call New York Island by the name of *Mannahattanink*, or *Mannahachtanink*, which any one will see is the origin of the present name of Manhattan. And they frequently told the missionary, Heckewelder, that it derived its name from this general intoxication; and that the meaning of that word was, the *island* or *place of general intoxication*. Heckewelder also states, that the Mahicanders of the Dutch, and the Mohiggans of the English, had the same name for this island; but they thought it derived its origin from a kind of wood which grew there, of which they formed their bows and arrows, — which wood they called *gawaak*. This is not in our judgment so probable a derivation as that given by the Delawares.

We are next presented with Lambrechtsen's "Short Description of the Discovery and Subsequent History of the New Netherlands, a Colony in America (at an early period) of the Republic of the United Netherlands," which was printed at Middleburg, Holland, in 1818, in the Dutch language; and is translated by the late Francis A. Vander Kemp, honorary member of this Society. It is an able political history of the colony, possessing a high degree of interest for all who delight in the enterprising character and manly virtues of the first settlers of this country. It is a work but little known even to the literary world, and the Society deserve the thanks of the community for having introduced it to the American public. At an early period, in June, 1819,* we

* See *North American Review*, Vol. IX. pp. 77 *et seq.*

gave a review of this History, while it yet remained in the Dutch language untranslated, to which we now refer our readers.

In the Introductory Note to this article in the volume now under review, it is stated, that Lambrechtsen,

"who is believed to be still living, is a gentleman of considerable rank and reputation in his own country, having been Grand Pensionary of Zealand, and connected with many learned societies in Europe; he is also well known to many of our countrymen, who have visited Holland. In 1816 he applied to this Society, through a gentleman at Amsterdam, for information, concerning the early history of this city and State [New York], when the Corresponding Secretary was directed to forward him a copy of the two volumes of Collections then published. He was, at the same time, elected an honorary member; from which circumstance, he was probably led to dedicate his work to the Society, together with others to which he sustained a similar relation." — p. 76.

The translator, Vander Kemp, who is described in Spafford's "Gazetteer of the State of New York," as "a fine classical scholar, and a volunteer patriot in the cause of America while struggling for independence," was the same gentleman to whom Governor De Witt Clinton, in 1818, confided the translating of the ancient Dutch records of that State, — which he completed in twenty-five volumes, now extant in the office of the Secretary of State, at Albany, and forming "an invaluable repository of materials for the future historian."

In this rich collection of historical works relating to the colony of New York, Adriaen Vander Donck's "Description of the New Netherlands, (as the same are at the present time,)" (second edition, Amsterdam, 1656,) has the next place. Vander Donck came to this country in 1642, and, after residing for some time at Albany, he purchased a tract of land on the Hudson river, sixteen miles from the city of New York, at a place now known as *Yonkers*, which derived its name from him. He was familiarly called *the Yonker*, a common appellation for *gentleman* among the Dutch farmers. One of his grants of land at that place was made to him in 1648, under the name of Jonker (pronounced Yonker) Vander Donck, — and his estate was afterwards described in the colonial records as *the Yonker's land*.

This is the first time that his History has appeared in print in the English language, although a translation of it was prepared many years ago by the late Rev. John Bassett, D. D., formerly of Albany. The present translation is by Jeremiah Johnson, Esquire, of Brooklyn, New York. It is an interesting work, and although Lambrechtsen acknowledges some obligations, far less however than he had anticipated, to this history, we are inclined to think that many of our readers will be pleased with the plain, and, at times, curious descriptions which the author gives of the new country in which he was settled.

Of the fruit trees, which had been brought into this country by the Dutch settlers, he says,

"We have introduced morecotoons, (a kind of peach,) apricots, several sorts of the best plums, almonds, persimmons, cornelian cherries, figs, several sorts of currants, gooseberries, calissiens, and thorn apples; and we doubt not but that the olive would thrive and be profitable, but we have them not; although the land is full of many kinds of grapes, we still want settings of the best kinds from Germany, for the purpose of enabling our wine-planters here to select the best kinds, and to propagate the same." — p. 153.

If almonds and figs grew and ripened in the open air, it is singular they should have been lost entirely; as the persimmon, which is mentioned as a fruit introduced from Holland, and cultivated in the colony, has now, since its cultivation has been discontinued, become wild in the woods in the vicinity of New York, and still yields its fruit abundantly, and is brought in the autumn to the markets of that city. One of the most striking characteristics of the country discovered by the Northmen in their early voyages, was the abundance of grapes, from which circumstance they named it *Vinland;* and here we have evidence, that this tract of country, when settled by the Dutch, "was full of many kinds of grapes."* And our author, speaking of these grapes, says, "It is gratifying and wonderful to see these natural produc-

* We would here observe, by the way, that Vander Donck in his article, — "How men and animals came on the American Continent," — shows clearly to our mind, that the report of voyages of the Northmen to this continent, was then known to literary men in Europe, out of Norway and Sweden, and believed in by some, if not by many, of them.

tions, and to observe such excellent and lovely fruit growing wild." And he further remarks, that "the country, when the vines are in bloom, is perfumed with the lovely fragrance of the blossoms, and it is delightful to travel at this season of the year."

What a beautiful description this is of our New World. We could almost wish to have lived in that age, if only to stroll along the bridle-roads, and Indian paths, and inhale "the lovely fragrance" of the grape blossoms. This portion of the country about New York is celebrated in all the ancient historical works treating of it, for its rich natural covering of flowers. In Denton's account (1670), the first work describing that colony under the English, a considerable portion is occupied in a beautiful picture of Long Island, which he styles a natural garden, and of parties, which we should now call *pic-nics*, making excursions through its verdant fields, to gather and eat the wild strawberries, and other fruits, then existing in great abundance.

If the climate of New York was at that period so mild, as to induce the colonists to believe they could successfully cultivate the olive, as an article of commerce, as would seem to be inferrible from what our author says on that subject, it would appear as if some change had taken place, and that not a favorable one, in the climate of some portion, at least, of our Atlantic coast. Smith, in his "History of New York," the first edition of which was published in 1732, insists, that the seasons have changed in this country. And we might here observe, that we have heard it remarked in support of that theory, that the farmers in the western part of the State of New York, have been induced to make a change in their mode of culture in consequence of this alteration of the seasons; that since about the year 1820, maize, or Indian corn, which they previously raised without any difficulty, has become a very uncertain crop, by reason of the cold summers, and early frosts in the autumn; and that they are not now able to raise several kinds of trees, as the weeping willow, the acacia, the alanthus, &c., which formerly grew in that district of country. We are gratified to learn, however, that for the last two years, the indications have been more favorable, — that the summers have been much warmer, and the appearance of the fall frosts delayed for a longer period than had been experienced for many years previous.

And we trust, that the unfavorable change indicated in that district, will be temporary in its operation and effects; and that the more propitious seasons, which have been recently experienced, will be continued for a long time to come. Notwithstanding the recent favorable indications in Western New York, we believe they are not now able to produce in the open air, the sweet-water grape, or the black Hamburgh, which, some twenty-five years ago, they raised with ease. The change has been even more marked in the Southern States, than in New York, or its vicinity. About thirty-five years ago, oranges grew abundantly in North Carolina, and now they cannot be raised in Georgia, and have even become an uncertain crop in the north part of Florida. At St. Mary's, nearly on the line between Georgia and Florida, for about seven years previous to the great frost of 1835, the orange trees appeared to be healthy and were covered with a profusion of blossoms, but yielded no fruit; and in 1835, they were all cut off. So the yam was also formerly raised in great abundance in the southern part of Georgia, and now it will not grow there, any more than in New England.

Vander Donck seems to have had a strong love for natural objects, for trees, and botanical inquiries generally, which form the most pleasant portions of his work. In one place he complains, that the Indians destroy the chestnut trees "by stripping off the bark for covering for their houses." And in another place, he finds fault with what we should consider rather a strange process of nutting, by the Netherlanders felling the trees, and cutting off the limbs to gather the nuts. He tells us of a "certain honorable gentleman, named John Everts Bout," who laid a wager that he would raise a crop of barley, the ears of which "could be easily tied together above his head;" and who, when he went to see the barley, found, "that the straw, band by band, was from six to seven feet high, and very little of it any shorter."

But it was not alone to the natural products of the soil, that this writer extended his examination. He also describes the minerals found in that ancient colony, and gives us a curious story about a gold mine, somewhere in the vicinity of Albany; but where particularly, none of the money-diggers after the ill-gotten gold of the famous pirate Robert Kidd, and other secreted treasure, have as yet been able to discover. It appears, that in 1645, the author and some officers were

employed at Albany, in negotiating a treaty with the Mohawk Indians, "the strongest and fiercest Indian nation of the country;" at which, the Governor, William Kieft, and the Indian chiefs, attended. An Indian with a barbarous name, "well known to the Christians," was employed as interpreter. Vander Donck then proceeds;

"As the Indians are generally disposed to paint and ornament their faces with several brilliant colors, it happened on a certain morning, that this Indian interpreter, who lodged in the Director's house, came down stairs, and in the presence of the Director and myself, sat down, and began stroking and painting his face. The Director observed the operation, and requested me to inquire of the Indian what substance he was using, which he handed to me, and I passed it to the Director, who examined the same attentively, and judged from its weight and from its greasy and shining appearance, that the lump contained some valuable metal, for which I commuted with the Indian, to ascertain what it contained. We acted with it, according to the best of our judgment, and gave the same to be proved by a skilful doctor of medicine, named Johannes La Montagne, of the Council of the New Netherlands. The lump of mineral was put into a crucible, which was placed in a fire, and after the same, (according to my opinion,) had been in the fire long enough, it was taken out, when it delivered *two pieces of gold*, worth about three guilders. This proof was kept secret." — p. 161.

The Editor supposes the mineral thus found was probably *pyrites*, mistaken for gold. In this conclusion, we cannot agree with him, for we cannot conceive how it could possibly be pyrites, when it yielded those "two pieces of gold." Vander Donck was a Doctor of Laws, and must have been a man of considerable learning to have obtained that degree in Holland at that period; and it does seem to us, that his general information, as shown by his work, must have been sufficient to enable him to detect the difference between gold and copper.

The Doctor further states, that,

"After the peace was made, (with the Indians,) an officer with a few men were sent to the Berg mountain, to which the Indian directed them, for a quantity of the mineral, who returned with about a bucket full, intermingled with stones, as they deemed best. They did not observe, that the place from which they took the earth had been dug before. Of this min-

eral several experiments were made, which proved as good as the first. We supposed that we had secured the discovery safely. The Director General thought proper to embrace the first opportunity to send a small quantity of the mineral to the Netherlands, for which purpose he despatched a man named Arent Corsen, with a bag of the mineral to New Haven, to take passage in an English ship for England, and to proceed to Holland. This vessel sailed at Christmas, and was lost at sea. Misfortune attended all on board." — p. 162.

Specimens of this gold seem to have been peculiarly unfortunate, and were destined never to reach the mother country. After the loss of the ship with all on board,

"the Director General, William Kieft, left the New Netherlands for the Netherlands, in the year 1647, on board the ship *Princess*, taking with him specimens of the proved minerals, and of several others. *This ship was also lost*, and the minerals remained in the sea." — *Ibid.*

This work of Vander Donck was written in Holland, and, in order to place the existence of the mine beyond doubt, he observes ;

"Now we have Cornelius Van Tienhoven for Secretary of the New Netherlands. Being here in Holland, he states that he had tested several specimens of the mineral, which proved satisfactory ; the subject therefore need not be doubted." — *Ibid.*

However well the existence of such a mine may be regarded as having been thus established, it is now lost, and no record or tradition remains designating its locality. It is better it should be so for the morals and industry of the people. It was probably the belief in the existence of this mine, that occasioned the first introduction of the reservation of mines, in the leases granted in the manor of Rensselaerwyck, the settlement of which had already commenced.

Vander Donck appears to have been acquainted with the existence of the great iron mines in the Northern portion of the State of New York, a fact which adds much weight to his observations in relation to minerals generally, showing him to have been an accurate observer of the country. He remarks ;

"We find in the country up drifts, and signs of many mines, but mostly of iron." — *Ibid.*

He then affords us an evidence of the intelligence and enterprise of the inhabitants of New England at that very early period of our annals, being previous to the year 1656, which, we think, will astonish many, even of those who are conversant with the history of the old "United Colonies"; and will also prove how much better and richer is a mine of iron to an industrious people, than one of gold. He tells us;

"The people of New England already cast their own cannon, plates, pots, and cannon balls, from native iron." — *Ibid.*

In describing the wild animals of the New Netherlands, he gives that country, from the statements of the Mohawk Indians, the honor of producing the celebrated *unicorn*, of which so much has been written pro and con, — and which the world was gradually sitting down to regard as fabulous, like the griffins and basilisks of old, when some modern accounts from Africa revived a belief of its true existence to a considerable extent. But let the Doctor speak for himself.

"I have been frequently told by the Mohawk Indians, that, far in the interior parts of the country, there were animals which were seldom seen, of the size and form of horses, with cloven hoofs, *having one horn in the forehead*, from a foot and a half to two feet in length, and that, because of their fleetness and strength, they were seldom caught or ensnared. I have never seen any certain token or sign of such animals, but that such creatures exist in the country, is supported by the concurrent declaration of the Indian hunters. There are Christians, who say that they have seen the skins of this species of animal, but without the horns." — p. 169.

We should not be surprised at such statements, and regard the promulgers of them as simple and credulous men. Every age has its peculiar characteristics, distinguishing it from every other period that precedes, or follows it. So this was the age of wonders, when the Bermuda Isles,

"the still vexed Bermoothes"

of Shakspeare, were considered as the habitation of spirits,* who raised mighty storms, to prevent mortals from invading their peculiar domain. And it was upon this belief, that the great monarch of the English drama founded his play of

* *The Isle of Devils*, as the Bermudas were generally called by the seamen of Shakspeare's day.

"The Tempest." Blome, in his "American Colonies," published at London, in 1687, describes the island of Dominica as inaccessible to voyagers, except on the beach, from the great numbers of dragons and serpents, which were to be seen basking on the rocks above the shore. But, to come still nearer home, the remains of the mammoth, or of the mastodon, which were then occasionally met with, excited special wonder ; and, since geology, as a science, had not then begun its existence, strange and wonderful theories were formed to account for them. Among these, not the least strange is that given us in the following letter from Governor Dudley to the Rev. Cotton Mather, dated "Roxbury, July 10th, 1706."

"I was surprised, a few days since, with a present laid before me from Albany, by two honest Dutchmen, inhabitants of that city, which was a certain tooth, accompanied with some other pieces of bone, which being but fragments, without any points whereby they might be determined to what animals they did belong, I could make nothing of them ; but the tooth was of the perfect form of the eye tooth of a man, with four prongs or roots, and six distinct faces or flats on the top, a little worn, and all perfectly smoothed with grinding. I suppose all the surgeons in town have seen it, and I am perfectly of opinion it was a *human tooth.* I measured it, and as it stood upright it was six inches high lacking one eighth, and round, thirteen inches lacking one eighth. And its weight in the scale was two pounds and four ounces, troy weight. One of the same growth, but not of equal weight, was last year presented to my Lord Cornbury, and another, of the same figure exactly, showed at Hartford, of near a pound weight more than this.

"Upon examination of the two Dutchmen, they tell me the said tooth and bones were taken up under the bank of Hudson's river, some miles below the city of Albany, about fifty leagues from the sea, about foot below the surface of the earth, in a place where the freshet does every year rake and waste the bank, and that there is a plain discoloration of the ground, for seventy-five foot long at least, different from the earth in color and substance, which is judged by everybody that see it, to be the ruins and dust of the body that bore these teeth and bones. I am perfectly of opinion, that *the tooth will agree only to a human body,* for whom the flood only would prepare a funeral ; and without doubt he waded as long as he could keep his head above the clouds, but must at length be

confounded with all other creatures, and the new sediment after the flood gave him the depth we now find.

"I remember to have read somewhere, a tradition of the Jewish Rabbins, that the issues of those unequal matches between heaven and earth at the beginning, were such whose heads reached the clouds, who are therefore called *Nephelim*, and their issue were *Geborim*, who shrunk away to the *Raphaim*, who were then found not to be invincible, but fell before less men, the sons of the East, in several places besides Canaan.

"I am not presently satisfied of what rank or classis this fellow was, but I am sure not of the last, for Goliath was not half so many feet, as this was ells long.

"The distance from the sea takes away all pretension of its being a whale or animal of the sea, as well as the figure of the tooth; nor can it be any remains of an elephant; the shape of the tooth and admeasurement of the body in the ground will not allow that.

"There is nothing left but to repair to those antique doctors for his origin, and to allow Dr. Burnet and Dr. Whiston to bury him at the deluge; and, if he were what he shows, he will be seen again at or after the conflagration, further to be examined."

Notwithstanding this most extraordinary manner of accounting for the teeth and bones of the mammoth, Governor Dudley was a man of much learning and of a sound, discriminating mind. The error was not so much his, as that of the age in which he lived; and serves to show how very apt most intelligent persons were, about two centuries ago, to run into the marvellous. They had not then the benefits resulting from the recent examinations of geologists throughout the world. Otherwise they would hardly have looked beyond the species of the mammoth, or the mastodon, for the true owner of those relics; or have been tempted to indulge the fancy of men, whose heads towered above the clouds, and who required a deluge to drown them. This belief was not, by any means, confined to this country, but also existed at one period in full force in England. There is now preserved in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, an Essay, written to prove, that giants formerly inhabited the island of Great Britain.

To go from the greatest to the least, — from the giant to the smallest of all the feathered race,—we find, that the beau-

tiful little humming-bird attracted the attention of the early Dutch colonists, and it seems to have puzzled them greatly to make out whether it was a *bird* or a *bee.* Vander Donck says, that it is a "small, curious bird, concerning which there are disputations, whether it is a bird, or a large West India bee;" that "its feathers are of various shining colors;" that "it sucks its nourishment from flowers like the bees;" and that "it is everywhere seen on the flowers, regaling itself; hence it has obtained the name of 'the West India bee.' In flying, they make a humming noise like the bees."

It is a singular fact in natural history, that the honey-bee made its appearance in this country after its settlement by Europeans. The Indians were so strongly impressed with this belief, that they called it "the white man's fly." And so too the gray rat, and the crow, are said to follow the settlements of civilized man.

Vander Donck has a long and interesting account of the Indians, and their manners and customs, as they then existed in the New Netherlands, subdivided into twenty-two heads. Under the head, "of their Feast Days and Particular Assemblies," he gives us the following very curious account of the mode in which they "counsel the devil on some approaching event."

"When they wish to hunt or drive the devil (as they do by *spooking* and deception), then they assemble in the afternoon towards evening, and then some of them do, most singularly indeed, endeavour to enchant and charm the devil and carry on witchcraft, wherein the common people believe. They begin with jumping, crying, and grinning, as if they were possessed and mad. They kindle large fires, and dance around and over the same, lengthwise and across; they roll, tumble overhead, and bend themselves, and continue their violent exercises until the sweat pours out and streams down to their feet. By their distortions and hideous acts, they appear like devils themselves; their awful conduct will astonish those who are not accustomed to see them. During these operations, all their devil-drivers join in the rolling and howling, when they altogether appear to be crazy. When their charming has continued some time, then the devil, as they say, appears to them in the form of a beast. If the beast be a ravenous animal, it is a bad omen; if it be a harmless creature, the sign is better; the animal gives them strange answers to their inquiries, but seldom so clear and distinct, that they can comprehend or in-

terpret the same, which, however, they strike at, as a blind man does at an egg. If they interpret the answers incorrectly, the fault is theirs. Sometimes they utter things beyond the devil's texts. If there be any Christians present on those occasions, who observe all their doings, then their devil will not appear. Their devil-drivers sometimes bewitch some of their common people, and cause them to appear possessed or besotted, which otherwise is not seen, when they cast themselves into glowing fires without feeling it." — p. 203.

David Pieterszen de Vries, extracts from whose "Voyages to the Dutch Colonies on the Banks of the Hudson," at an early period of their existence, form the sixth article in this volume of Collections, was a distinguished man in his day, being Master of Artillery in the service of the United Provinces of Holland, and one of the founders of those colonies. In the enterprise of founding colonies, in 1630, he was associated with De Laet, the historian and geographer of the New World, Van Rensselaer, the founder of the colony and manor of that name in the vicinity of Albany, and several other gentlemen, who also became patroons.

The first enterprise of De Vries was the original settlement of what is now the State of Delaware. He was unfortunate, however, in his attempts at colonizing, having found, on his return from Holland, that his colony was destroyed, and not a solitary survivor left to narrate its fate. Not discouraged by this reverse, in 1634, he attempted to establish another colony on the coast of Guiana, which also proved unsuccessful. Still persevering with all the indomitable spirit which characterized the bold and skilful navigators of that glorious period of the Batavian republic, when her maritime supremacy spread over the world, he made another, and his last voyage, in 1638, to the New Netherlands, for the purpose of planting a colony on Staten Island, in the harbour of New York, of which he had obtained a grant from the West India Company. Failing in this enterprise from want of settlers, he resided for some time on a plantation on Manhattan Island, until the spring of 1640, when he made a voyage up the North River to Fort Orange, now Albany.

This excursion was undertaken for the purpose of examining the country, and purchasing lands of the Indians ; and he was fourteen days in making his passage up that river. The length of time occupied in making this excursion of

one hundred and sixty-five miles may appear extraordinary to us in these days of railways and steamboats. We should, however, bear in mind, that, even within the present century, it frequently took from one week to ten days to perform the same passage. When, about 1799, Oliver Evans, whose capacious mind seemed to embrace the future, as well as the present and past, in looking upon the probable advance of the United States, predicted, "The time will come when people will travel in stages, moved by steam-engines, from one city to another, almost as fast as birds fly, fifteen or twenty miles per hour; passing through the air with such velocity, changing the scene in such rapid succession, will be the most rapid, exhilarating exercise; a carriage [steam] will set out from Washington in the morning; the passengers will breakfast at Baltimore, dine at Philadelphia, and sup in New York the same day; engines will drive boats ten or twelve miles per hour; and there will be many hundred steamboats running on the Mississippi, as predicted years ago," almost every one thought him deranged in his intellects, and that "too much learning had made him mad." But yet his predictions as to the railways, and the speed of steam-carriages or locomotives, are now fulfilled; and his prophetic declaration as to the steam navigation of the Mississippi, made at a time when that river and its tributaries passed through a country almost an entire wilderness, and when a steamboat was not known in the world, except in the crude attempt and failure of the unfortunate John Fitch, have been triumphantly realized. His anticipations, as to the speed with which those boats could be propelled, have been greatly exceeded. He limited it to ten or twelve miles an hour; and now it is usual for the steamboats plying on the Hudson river, between New York and Albany, to run at the rate of from fifteen to eighteen miles an hour. And the same passage, which occupied De Vries fourteen days, has been made in several instances, recently, in from eight and a half to nine hours. So that, during the past season, it was possible for a merchant to leave Albany in the morning at seven o'clock, make the passage, have three hours to attend to his business in the city of New York, leave that city in the evening boat at seven o'clock, and be at his home again in Albany before daybreak the next morning.

These predictions of Evans will appear the more extraordinary, when we recollect, that Fulton made his first experiment in running a steamboat from New York to Albany in 1807, and that she took thirty-two hours to make that passage, and, in doing that, more than realized the most sanguine expectations of her projector, as he declared at the time.*

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* When the Dutch Commissioners left New York on the morning of the 15th of October, 1663, at sunrise, to visit the English officers at Hartford, to settle some disputes about boundaries, it took them between four and five days to make that journey, although they landed at New Haven, and travelled thence by land to Hartford. Then, however, it was not customary for the navigators to sail during the night; they cast anchor, and waited for daylight to start again.

So, too, when Governor Lovelace, then administering the government of New York, on the 10th of December, 1672, issued his proclamation for establishing the *first post*, or mail route, between the cities of New York and Boston, which was to commence on the first of January, 1673, the post was "to sett forth from this City of New Yorke *monthly*, and thence to travaile to Boston, from whence within that month hee shall returne againe to this City." As the post office regulations of that early period may be regarded as interesting, as well as curious, we give them.

"Those that be disposed to send letters, lett them bring them to the Secretary's office, where in a lockt box they shall bee preservd till the messenger calls for them. All persons paying the post before the bagg be sealed up."

The reasons for the establishment of this post were, — it was for the interest of the colonies

"to enter into a strict allyance and correspondency with each other, as likewise for the advancement of negotiation, trade, and civill commerce, and for a more speedy intelligence and dispatch of affayres."

Those were good sound reasons, and are operating in the present day with all the force they possessed when originally put forth. They have induced us to regard as means of "a more speedy intelligence," modes of transportation which even the last generation did not dream of. The intercourse, which, one hundred and seventy years ago, took *one month* to perfect, is now accomplished in *one day*. And the journey, which occupied the Dutch Commissioners between four and five days, is now easily accomplished, and without fatigue, in between *six and seven hours*. And the day is fast approaching, nay, is almost now at hand, when there will be one continued line of railroad through the Atlantic border, from Halifax, in North Carolina, to Boston. All that extended chain is now complete, except a short link of about forty-five miles on Long Island, which, we trust, will soon be perfected, as the Company, charged with that work, have, as we understand, been prosecuting it vigorously during the past season. It should be finished without delay; and then, who will limit the facility with which this "more speedy intelligence and dispatch of affayres," may be carried?

But to come down to our own day. Only twelve years since, in 1828, the first report concerning a railroad from Boston to Providence was made, in which it was proposed to lay a flat bar of iron on granite sleepers. Horse power was to be used, and it was calculated, that loaded trains could

Among other curious and valuable matters collected in this volume, from various recondite sources, the reader will find, in addition to what we have already noticed, "The Conditions between the City of Amsterdam and the West India Company, forming the Basis of the Original Settlement of New York;" "A Description of the New Netherlands in 1649, from the Du Simitière Manuscripts;" "Documents from the Colonial Records of New York;" "Extracts from the 'New World' of John de Laet," the celebrated navigator, who was a director of the Dutch West India Company (translated by Mr. Folsom from the original Dutch edition of 1625); "Hendrick Hudson's Voyage to this Country in 1609, from the Journal, by his Mate, Robert Juet;" (Juet accompanied Hudson on his last voyage in 1610, in which Hudson was turned adrift upon the open ocean, in a small boat, by his mutinous crew, and was never heard from again; and Juet, who remained with the ship, perished from famine before she arrived in port;) "Argall's Expedition against the French Settlements in Acadia, and the Dutch Settlement on Manhattan Island, in 1613;" (this article, giving a plain and succinct account of an obscure part of our early history, is written by Mr. Folsom, the editor of the volume;) and a "Letter of Thomas Dermer, describing his Passage from Maine to Virginia in 1619." This letter is extracted from Purchas's "Pilgrims," London, 1625, and describes Dermer's voyage, made in the employ of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the original patentees of part of New England, in which voyage he sailed through Long Island Sound, and was the first person who ascertained that island to be such. After passing through what we now call *Hell Gate*, he was carried into a great bay, where he met with the Indians, who told him of two passages to the great sea, offered him pilots, "and one of them drew me a plat with chalk upon a chest, whereby I found it a great island, parted by the two seas." Although Dermer may have been the first European, who published to the world, that he had ascertained Long Island to be an island, yet, as the editor has

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be propelled "at the rate of three miles per hour"; and that the same power of a single horse, working three hours a day, would convey a carriage, with twenty-five passengers, at the speed of *nine miles* per hour. What a change has taken place here, since but yesterday, as it were?

successfully shown, he was not the first who sailed through the Sound. The Dutch have that honor, for Adrian Block made the voyage five years before Dermer, in the year 1614; when he discovered Block Island, which was named after him, and sailed up Connecticut river to near the site of Hartford.

Another document is the "Correspondence between the Colonies of New Netherlands and New Plymouth, in 1627, from the Letter Book of William Bradford, Governor of New Plymouth." The object of this correspondence seems to have been, on the part of the Dutch, to open a trade with the English colonies, which the government of New Plymouth had "desired them to forbear." But the Dutch insisted upon their right, claiming authority under the King of England and the States of Holland. The colonies of New England and the New Netherlands came very near a collision, in consequence of the Dutch extending their settlements on the Connecticut river. Nothing serious, however, seems to have grown out of the matter at this time. The sage inhabitants of New England contented themselves with settling down along side of the Dutch at Hartford, and commenced building their town under the guns of the Dutch fort *het huys de Hoop*, and soon fairly elbowed them out; and that so thoroughly, that not a vestige is left to indicate, that the goodly town of Hartford was originally settled by the worthy burghers from the Vatherland. De Vries gives a very amusing and characteristic account of the mode of proceeding of our enterprising forefathers on that occasion.

"In the morning of the 7th June, 1639, we came opposite de Versche river (Connecticut river). We went up the river, and on the 9th arrived with my yacht at the fort *het huys de Hoop*, where we found one Guysbert van Dyck as commander, with fourteen or fifteen soldiers. This fort is situated near the river, and a small creek, forming there a fall. The English had also begun to build here a town (Hartford) against our will, and had already a fine church and more than a hundred houses erected. The commander gave me orders to protest against their proceedings. He added, that some of his soldiers had prohibited them to put a plough into the ground, as it was our land, that we had bought of the Indians and paid for; but they opposed them, and had given a drubbing to the soldiers. When I came to the settlement, the English governor invited me to dinner. I told him, during

dinner, that he had acted very improperly in taking the lands of the Company, which were bought and paid for by them. He answered me, that these lands were lying uncultivated; that we had been here already several years, and nothing was done to improve the ground; that it was a sin to leave so valuable lands uncultivated, such fine crops could be raised upon them; that they had now already built three towns on this river, in which there was abundance of salmon, &c. The English here live soberly. They drink only three times every meal, and those that become drunk are whipped on a pole, as the thieves are in Holland." — p. 261.

The great sobriety of the New Englanders for that time, was undoubtedly one cause of their success in raising their towns and settlements. De Vries mentions, that it was with extreme difficulty that the servant of the minister, who had been tipsy, escaped from being whipped.

Then follows "The Charter of Liberties granted to Patroons and Colonists in the New Netherlands in 1629, with Miscellaneous Extracts from the Dutch Colonial Records." These extracts are many of them very curious; being letters of the Directors of the Dutch West India Company, the contract for building the first church in New Amsterdam (New York), tables of exports and imports from the New Netherlands by the West India Company from 1624 to 1635, a list of the wealthier citizens of New Amsterdam in 1653, and the tax-list of New Amsterdam in 1674. This last document was made after the reconquest of the city by the Dutch fleet under Admiral Colve, in 1673; and the city was then also known as *New Orange*, which we believe was at that period its official name. It is followed by a catalogue of the members of the Dutch church, with the names of the streets in the city of New York in 1686, from the original manuscript of the Rev. Henry Selyns, pastor of the church. We can readily imagine the affection with which such a record as the present will be received and examined by the descendants of the worthy Dutch families in that ancient city; and the delight with which they will pore over it, and search out the residences of their ancestors. It forms, indeed, a kind of roll of honor, as well as an evidence of correct moral feeling; showing the long and settled domicil of their families in that city, and the regard in which they must have been held by their fellow citizens, to have remained thus

long among them. This clergyman, the Rev. Henry Selyns, or Henricus Solinus, as he was also called, was a good scholar, and highly esteemed by his people. He discharged the duties of his ministry, in New York and Brooklyn, from 1660 to 1664, when he returned to Holland, and again came to New York in 1682, (having received a previous call to that city, which he declined,) and continued pastor of the church until his death, in 1701. He is said to have cultivated a taste for poetry, a few specimens of which still remain. One of them, a Latin poem of some length, will be found prefixed to the "Magnalia Christi Americana," by his friend, the Reverend Cotton Mather.

As the fourteenth article in this volume, we have Acrelius's "New Sweden, or the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware; translated from the Original Swedish, by the late Nicholas Collin, D. D., of Philadelphia." This work has been much sought after, as it is the only accredited history we have of those Swedish settlements; and, until this translation appeared, it remained a "sealed book" to most of our students of American history. Too much praise cannot be given to exertions of this nature, to bring before the public the hidden and unpublished records of our early times, and particularly when applied to works of high authority like the present. The Reverend Israel Acrelius, the author of this History, was Provost of the Swedish Churches in America, and probably better qualified, from his situation and opportunities, than any other man in the country, to give a correct account of these colonies.

A few particulars concerning the Directors-General, or Governors, of New Netherlands, by the Editor, constitute an article, on which we will dwell for a few moments. As to Peter Minuit, who is placed the first in array in this list of Governors, we shall content ourselves with referring to Mr. Folsom's account of him; in which all is said, that we believe is possible in relation to this personage, and more, in truth, than we before thought had been preserved.

Wouter Van Twiller, the somewhat celebrated Doubter of Knickerbocker's veritable history, is said, by De Vries, to have "come to his office from a clerkship (at Amsterdam),—an amusing case." And, if De Vries is to be regarded as authority on this subject, he seems to have been as incompetent as Knickerbocker represents him, to discharge

the duties of his office. Not so much, however, for the reason given, of his sleepiness, as for his want of decision and his insubordinate conduct.

Irving's "History of New York, by Diederich Knickerbocker," has greater foundation in fact, than people generally suppose. The charm resulting from the happy manner in which the facts have been arranged, and the witty style in which they are related, have induced the almost general belief, that it is entirely a work of imagination. Who would suppose, that the Dutch Governor, using his knife or tobacco-box as a warrant for the apprehension of an offender, or to bring a debtor before him for judgment, had precedent to sustain it? Nevertheless such is the truth, extraordinary as it may seem at first blush. Among the ancient Celts, the godorsman, gode, or priest, summoned the inhabitants by a stick or stone. When a person was murdered among the Celts, an arrow was sent to assemble a Ting or Court, to judge and sentence the criminal. And the token or warrant of the kings of the Isle of Man, and of his deemster, was a small slate, on which their initials were inscribed; and there was a penalty of three pounds for falsifying it. These simple warrants were only prohibited in the year 1763.

Van Twiller was succeeded by a more efficient governor, in the person of William Kieft, who arrived in this country in 1638. He seems to have been the first governor, who introduced any thing like system in the proceedings of the colony, and with him commence regular records of the settlement. Soon after his arrival, he caused inquiries to be made into the state and condition of the New Netherlands, probably for the purpose of conveying some distinct information to his patrons at home. And to him we owe a detailed view of the situation of New Amsterdam (New York), in 1639, the only one which we have at that early period;—which, as it is a matter of great curiosity, we will give to the public from the original record.

"This day appeared before me Cornelius Van Tienhoven, Secretary in New Netherland, at the request of William Kieft, Director-General of the Privileged West India Company in New Netherland, Jacob Stoffelsen, Overseer, old about twenty-seven years, Gillis Petersen van de Youw Sweele, Carpenter, old twenty-seven years; who jointly declared, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, that it is true, that

in the year 1638, the 28th of March, being the day on which William Kieft arrived here in the ship the *Heereog*, said Director Kieft did find Fort Amsterdam in a decayed state, — that it was open on every side, so that nothing could prevent to go in or out the same, except at the stone point, — all the guns from their carriages. Five farms without tenants, thrown into commons, — without one single creature remaining in property to the Company, all having been disposed of in other hands. Further, every vessel was in the worst condition, except the yacht *Prince William*, which might be employed. The house in the Fort required considerable repair; so too five other brick and frame houses, — the church, the lodge, the smith's shop. One grist mill and saw mill in operation, another out of repair; of the Magazine for wares and merchandise, with difficulty the place can be discovered where it stood. Besides this, the late Director Van Twiller has undertaken different works on account of other persons. All which we witnesses declare to be true, willing if required to sanction this by our solemn oath, and this we attested, to pay our homage to the truth, particularly when requested to do it. Done at Fort Amsterdam, 16th April, 1639."*

What a change has taken place here in the course of two centuries, during which period many of the most important cities and towns in Europe have remained almost stationary. Here, on this little spot, where in 1639 there had been but one magazine for wares and merchandise, and that destroyed, — but one smith's shop, two saw mills, and a grist mill, — and where, one hundred and twelve years afterwards, there were but ten thousand souls, is now congregated a population of three hundred and thirteen thousand inhabitants, (about one eighth of the whole population of the State of New York, which State now contains over one eighth of the whole population of the United States,) engaged in a commerce, which sends its messengers to the ends of the earth; and deserving to be characterized, as ancient Egypt was by the inspired prophet and poet Isaiah, as "the land shadowing with wings," "that sendeth ambassadors by the sea"; for the sails of their shipping overshadow the ocean. When we look back for about a century and a half, a period scarcely recognised by change in many portions of the old world, and find the Dutch fathers, assembled in council in the

* pp. 279, 280.

goodly city of New Amsterdam, goodly then in prospect, if not in fruition, declaring, in 1656, that "the widow of Hans Hansen, the *first born* Christian daughter in New Netherlands, burdened with seven children, petitions for a grant of a piece of meadow, in addition to the twenty morgen granted to her at the Waale Boght," opposite the city of New York, we can scarcely realize, that we thus see the beginning of that great city and State. And when we look at the assessment of that city, on her wealthier citizens, of five thousand and fifty guilders in 1653, and compare it with the assessed value of her real and personal estates in 1838, amounting to two hundred and sixty-four millions of dollars, it seems more like an ancient story of some minstrel of Arabia or Hindostan, than real, sober matter of fact.

Kieft did much to advance the interests of the colony over which he presided. Previous to 1642, he had built "a fine tavern of stone for the English, who, passing continually there with their vessels in going from New England to Virginia, occasioned him much inconvenience, and could now take lodgings there." In the subsequent year he erected the church of "rock stone," which stood until destroyed by fire in 1741, and was the only church in the city, until the erection of the chapel, by Governor Stuyvesant, on the site of the present St. Mark's Episcopal Church.

The colony thrived under his superintendence. But the most glorious days of the New Netherlands were under the administration of Peter Stuyvesant, which commenced in 1647, and continued until the conquest by the English, in August, 1664. We have some account of Governor Stuyvesant in the volume before us, and also an engraved portrait of him, taken from an original painting of his day, which we therefore presume to be a correct likeness; and a fine, noble, intelligent countenance it is.

We have been accustomed to regard Stuyvesant as a soldier; and the "hard kossin Piet," of Diederich Knickerbocker, has been better known for his warlike humors, than for his talents as a statesman. In this, however, we have become satisfied, tradition has done him much injustice. It is not in his government, that you read

> "Of cruel, bloody, and unnatural acts,
> Of accidental judgments, casual slaughters;

> Of deaths put on by cunning and forced cause,
> And, in the upshot, purposes mistook
> Fallen on the inventors' heads;"

but of a series of measures calculated to advance the interests of his countrymen, and to build up the little insignificant colony, on the banks of the Hudson, into a city of such a character and importance as to attract the attention of the English government, and to warrant the fitting out of an expedition for its subjugation.

To the encouragement of Stuyvesant is to be attributed the first emigration of the French Huguenots to this country, whose descendants now, and for many generations past, have been some of our most respectable and intelligent citizens. It appears, from the council records, that, on the 24th of January, 1664, N. Van Beeck, a merchant in New Amsterdam, stated, that he had received letters from Rochelle in France, signifying the wish of several persons, professing the Protestant religion, to emigrate to New Netherland, as their churches had been burnt, &c.; and the governor and council resolved to receive them hospitably, and to allow them land gratuitously.

This was in accordance with the generous policy pursued by the Dutch West India Company at that period, which evinced a more enlightened view of the advantages to result to the commerce of the mother country from the establishment of a prosperous colonial system, than appears to have been entertained by any other nation of Europe. And it was the success which attended this Dutch commercial policy, that led to the celebrated navigation act of England. In pursuance of this policy, the colonial government, under Stuyvesant, was instructed in those acts of mercy to the pilgrim, by a document from the West India Company under the States-General of Holland, which deserves to be preserved to all posterity, and written in letters of gold. The colonial government had previously fallen into the great error of persecuting the Quakers, whereupon that document was addressed to Governor Stuyvesant in the year 1663, from which the following is an extract.

"In the youth of your existence, you ought rather to encourage than check the population of the colony. The consciences of men ought to be free and unshackled, so long as they continue moderate, peaceable, inoffensive, and not hostile

to the government. Such have been the maxims of prudence and toleration, by which the magistrates of this city [Amsterdam] have been governed ; and the consequences have been, that the oppressed and persecuted, from every country, have found among us an asylum from distress. Follow in the same steps, and you will be blessed."

It was to the good character which the colony thus obtained abroad throughout Europe, that we may attribute the continued prosecution of the same system under the English government, which had been so popular under the Dutch, and which led to the same results in both instances ; although a different policy was pursued at the same time in England. In 1710, three thousand Palatines, who fled to England, the year previous, from the rage of persecution in Germany, emigrated to New York, under the guidance of Governor Robert Hunter. Some of them settled in the city of New York, and others on Livingston Manor in Columbia county, while others journeyed into Pennsylvania, where their descendants remain to the present time. And again, during the government of William Burnet in that colony, — who was the son of the celebrated Bishop of that name, and began his administration in September, 1720, which continued for seven years, — the persecutions in France, which followed the revocation of the edict of Nantz, drove thousands of Protestants into foreign countries. Many of them fled into that colony, and settled the town of New Rochelle, in Westchester county, which they called after their native city in France ; and a few seated themselves at New Paltz, in Ulster county. From these Huguenots several of the respectable families in Pennsylvania trace their descent.

Governor Stuyvesant not only encouraged emigration to his colony, by inviting the persecuted of the old world to share its hospitalities, but he also devoted a large portion of his time to laying the foundations for the present city of New York, by establishing ordinances for its government. In 1647, he prohibited selling strong drink to the Indians, under the heavy penalty of five hundred Carolus guilders, " and the further responsibility for all the misdemeanors that may result therefrom." He not only prescribed this regulation, but also provided, that justice should be done to the aborigines ; that their lands should not be taken without payment, and that the inhabitants should pay them for any

work which they should do for them, "in the penalty of such a fine as, according to the occasion, shall be deemed right."

On the 23d of July, 1647, he established the first regular tariff of duties on furs, &c., shipped from the colony to Holland. It is amusing to notice the jealousy with which the first Dutch settlers regarded the interference of foreigners in the trade and commerce of New Netherlands. The Scotch, particularly, seemed to attract their attention; and the Burgomasters and Schepens of the city complained of them to the Governor and Council, and urged that their trading there, without being householders and owners in the colony, was prejudicial to its interests. On the 23d of January, 1657, the Governor and Council proceeded to consider this complaint; and they delivered, *seriatim*, their "consideration and advice." First of all, Governor Stuyvesant, after stating the question, observed, that "to compel any individual to make a permanent residence here is too slavish to be endured; and that it is best to stick to the letter and intention of Lords Directors (in Holland). But he is of opinion, that no foreign merchants, skippers, or sailors, be they Scotchmen or not, shall sell their goods in the country, unless they keep a store in this city, either in their own or in an hired house." After the members of the Council had also delivered their opinions, it was determined, that no foreigner should be permitted to sell goods in the country, unless he kept a store in the city; that he should first obtain that privilege from the burgomasters and schepens by making a compensation which should be deemed reasonable; and that he should also take the oath of allegiance, to be a good subject for the time he remained in the country.

The Governor also provided for the improvement of the city, and appointed three surveyors, who should attend to the erection of buildings, that none of them encroached upon the streets. This first attempt at a regular system of city improvement in New York, was by an act of July 25th, 1647. Afterwards, in conformity with that ordinance, the city government provided, that buildings or fences should not be erected without first calling the surveyors, and obtaining their approbation. Again, on the 23d of January, 1648, the Governor, with his Council, ordained, that thereafter, in New Am-

sterdam, "no wooden or platted chimneys shall be permitted to be built in any houses between the fort, and the fresh water, (that is, between the Battery and the halls of Justice,) and that those already standing shall be permitted to remain during the good pleasure of the fire-wardens." And nine years subsequently the Governor and his Council issued a proclamation, declaring, that "they have long since condemned all flag roofs, and wooden and platted chimneys," within the city.

A very rigid police existed in the city under the administration of Stuyvesant, as is evident from various regulations still extant in the ancient records of the colony. The following is given as an instance. On the 3d of December, 1657, the Corporation of the city, then known as "the Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens," issued a proclamation, declaring, that,

"Warning is hereby given to all the Chirurgeons of this city, and they are advertised, that by the magistracy of this city it is demanded of them all, that, whenever they are called upon to dress a wound, they shall ask the patient, who has wounded him ; and give information thereof to the Schout, — or, in failure thereof, they shall pay the pecuniary penalty incurred by the infliction of the wound."*

The Burgomasters of the city, under Stuyvesant, not only administered its corporate regulations, but also formed a Court of Justice, which heard and determined all civil, and some criminal cases, with an appeal to the Governor and Council. Their meetings were opened by prayer, offered up by the presiding officer. The form is preserved to us, as a preface to the ancient records. The magistrates ask for grace, "that we may with fidelity and righteousness, serve in our respective offices." The prayer then proceeds ;

"To this end, enlighten our darkened understandings, that we may be able to distinguish the right from the wrong, the truth from falsehood ; and that we may give pure and uncor-

* In some of their regulations they descended to minutiæ, which we should regard as very singular in the present day. Thus we find, that in 1650, while they declared the bakers "have the privilege for the accommodation of the community of baking white bread," they prohibited them from making "cakes or cracknels." The reason for this distinction is not now apparent, although, no doubt, a good one was then thought to exist.

rupted decisions, having an eye on thy word ; a sure guide, giving to the simple wisdom and knowledge." "Deeply impress on all our minds that we are accountable, not to men, but unto God, who seeth and heareth all things. Let all respect of persons be removed from us, that we may award justice unto the rich and the poor, unto friends and enemies, to residents and to strangers, according to the law of truth, and that not one of us may in any instance swerve therefrom." "Grant unto us, also, that we may not rashly prejudge any one without a hearing, but that we patiently hear the parties, and give them time and opportunity for defending themselves." "Graciously incline our hearts, that we exercise the power which thou hast given to us, to the general good of the community," &c.

The inhabitants of the city and colony seem, at that early period, to have carried their rejoicings and sports on New Year's day, and May day, rather further than was deemed consonant with a proper regard to the well-being of the community. And we find that Governor Stuyvesant and his Council, on New Year's eve, 1655, declared, that "from this time forth, within this province of New Netherlands, on the New Year and May days, there shall be no firing of guns, nor Maypoles planted ; nor shall there be any beating of the drum ; nor shall there be on the occasion any wines, brandy wines, or beers dealt out." The Dutch inhabitants seemed to have been very fond of firing guns, when they went the rounds visiting their neighbours' houses on New Year's eve and New Year's day ; a practice, which, notwithstanding that ordinance, continued in full force in many parts of the State of New York, until after the Revolutionary war, when it was made a penal offence by an act of the Legislature.

The Dutch government under Stuyvesant also made several attempts to introduce the culture and manufacture of various articles of commerce in the colony. Tobacco was cultivated with great success on several plantations in Brooklyn, opposite the city. And, such was the high character which it attained in the European market, from a rigid inspection established by the colonial government, that it for some time obtained the preference over that from any other colony. Its culture for the purposes of trade soon began to diminish under the English administration, until, in the course of about thirty years, if not sooner, it ceased to be exported. At-

tempts were also made to introduce the culture of silk. And in 1656, the West India Company sent instructions to Governor Stuyvesant "to attend to the cultivation and increase of the silkworm" in the colony. This too was lost sight of by the English government. The vine was also cultivated, and, according to Vander Donck, several persons had vineyards and "wine hills" under cultivation; "and Providence blessed their labors with success, by affording fruit according to the most favorable expectation." They also introduced foreign grape stocks, and induced men to come over from Heidelberg, who were vine-dressers, for the purpose of attending to the vineyards. The clove tree was likewise introduced during this administration, but with what success we are not told.

Our white and red roses, cornelian roses, and stock roses, with gilly flowers, tulips, crown-imperials, white lilies, marigolds, and violets, were brought from Holland into the colony by the Dutch settlers, who had a fine taste for flowers. The sun-flowers, red and yellow lilies, several species of bell-flowers, mountain-lilies, with a great variety of others, were indigenous, and found in the country by the colonists; as were also peaches and apples; but the quince tree was introduced by the Huguenots and Palatines from the banks of the Danube.

After the surrender of his government to an overwhelming English force in 1664, Governor Stuyvesant was so highly esteemed by his fellow-citizens, that he passed the remainder of his life, being eighteen years, on Manhattan Island. His remains are interred in the family vault, constructed originally within the walls of the second church in the city of New York, also known as the Governor's Chapel, which, for pious purposes, he had built at his own expense on his Bouwery or Farm. And when the first church was erected in the then new plantation of "Brenkelen," opposite the city, and the congregation were too few to afford a sufficient support to a minister of the Gospel, he agreed, if they would call and settle the Reverend Henry Selyns, of whom we have before spoken as an able and learned man, he would pay one half of his salary, and Mr. Selyns should preach in the afternoon in his chapel, which was accordingly done. That chapel is gone, and its site is now and has been for many years occupied by St. Mark's Episcopal Church.

Some years ago we took an antiquarian stroll upon Manhattan Island, in which we visited that church. On the outer wall of the eastern side of the church we found, near the water table, a freestone tablet, on which is the following inscription ;

"In this vault lies buried Petrus Stuyvesant, late Captain-General and Commander-in-chief of Amsterdam in New Netherland, now called New York, and the Dutch West India Islands. Died August, A. D. 1682,* aged eighty years."

We have thus given a short notice of the most able and worthy of the Dutch governors of New York, and in so doing, trust we have brought to light some of the acts of that excellent man, which were veiled in obscurity, and beyond the ken of most, beside the historical antiquary.

The remainder of the volume under consideration is an Historical Sketch of the New York Historical Society, prepared by Mr. Folsom with much care and research, and constituting a document of great interest to its members.

We cannot leave the subject without again commending to the notice of the public this valuable collection of history. If the volumes to succeed it shall equal it in merit, they will constitute a series invaluable, not only from the rarity of the works in their original form, which are there given, but also by reason of their excellence. The selection is made with great judgment. And the introductory notices and notes, by the editor, from the ability with which they are made, add much to the value of the work.

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* This is an error, as the last will and testament of Governor Stuyvesant was proved in 1672. See the work under review, p. 399. The stone tablet was erected about the year 1800, by a descendant of the Dutch governor, who trusted entirely to tradition in regard to the time of his decease. At this time, the vault was repaired and enlarged, and the remains of the Governor were supposed to be recognised, after the lapse of nearly one hundred and thirty years.

ART. IV. — *Italy. General Views of its History and Literature in Reference to its Present State.* By L. MARIOTTI. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1841.

WHY is a good, or, indeed, any systematic literary history, so rare among us? Is it that the obstacles to its successful execution are so much greater than those which belong to civil history? The latter has to do with facts gleaned from tradition, or the pages of preceding writers. In the former, the books themselves are the facts of the narrative. The history of literature is the history of books. Every new fact implies the reading of a new volume, and instead of finding his story spread over comparatively few pages, as with the civil historian, the writer must sift it from whole libraries.

But not only must he know the especial authors that he criticizes; he must, also, be familiar with the departments in which they are eminent. Whoever criticizes Shakspeare, must be acquainted with the drama generally. Whoever analyzes Locke, should be intimate with all the complex, contradictory schemes of metaphysics. Merit is comparative; and how can we settle the standard of a writer, till we know that of his competitors? How can we measure his performance, till we know the state of the art or science when he entered on it?

There is, besides this, the difficulty of a sure taste to guide the literary, by no means demanded in the political historian. He must be something of a poet, or, rather, he must have sufficient fancy and feeling to be sensible to the charms of poetic fiction, who takes upon himself to disclose its beauties, often latent, to the reader. His own judgment must be true, who is to guide, to form, it may be, the judgment of others. The political writer has, indeed, to weigh the actions of men. But it is in a moral balance; and ten persons can decide on what is correct in morals, to one who can pronounce on what is correct in taste. An eminent example of this difficulty is afforded by Johnson, in his "Lives of the Poets." How sound in his judgment of men; how untrustworthy in his criticism on their works!

But why is it that these difficulties do not seem to be felt by the nations on the European continent so sensibly as by

the English and ourselves ? For such would seem to be the fact, from the much greater extent to which literary history has been cultivated by the former nations. There are but four or five historians, of any value, of our vernacular literature, chiefly its poetry ; and none, if we except Hallam's recent work, of a foreign language. Perhaps it may be, that in England, as with us, the greater freedom of the press, as well as of social institutions, has invited the writer to the discussion of the more attractive themes of religion and politics ; more attractive, because they come home to the bosoms and business of men more nearly than abstract literary criticism and disquisition. The French until lately, the Italian and Spaniard even now, are excluded from this wide and lofty range of speculation, and naturally turn to those elegant departments of letters, which, while they delight the taste, and inform the mind, have nothing in them to stir the bile of a jealous police. They may safely venture on the examination of works, which have been pronounced safe by the censor.

Yet in England and America, although works of *longue haleine* in this province are rare, the critical propensity finds a large escape in the form of Reviews, Magazines, and the like periodical works, which operate as so many conductors to carry off the electric fluid ; insensibly and noiselessly, indeed, but, perhaps, not the less serviceably to the community.

The work before us presents a view of Italian literature, written in English. It adds nothing, however, to the stores of original native publication in this line ; since, though in English, it is by an Italian. Those who had the good fortune to attend the lectures of Signor Mariotti, some three years since, in Boston, will refresh their recollection of them in the more correct and complete form in which they appear in these volumes.

There is no modern literature, which, on the whole, affords a richer field for the critic than the Italian ; none where the beautiful has been exhibited in a greater variety of forms, and where it has reached a higher standard of excellence. It was in Italy, that the sun of civilization set upon the world, and there that the new light first broke upon the nations. At the close of the thirteenth, and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, when the rest of Europe was in darkness, when many a priest could not read his missal, and

science seemed to have fled to the disciples of Mahomet, those great master-spirits arose in Italy, whose works first revealed the full capacities of a modern idiom, and taught the cheering lesson, that all was not buried with the dead languages, that there was still a life for modern literature.

Since that epoch, between five and six centuries have elapsed, during which, Italian literature, the offspring of fancy and feeling, conveying, in tones of ravishing sweetness, the music of thought in the music of numbers, has reflected, with chameleon-like sensibility, all the various influences of the social and political changes of the country. These changes are so distinctly marked, that a favorite practice with the literary historian has been, to distribute his subject into periods corresponding with the different centuries ; each of which is supposed to be stamped by a character peculiar to itself. Thus, in the fourteenth, we have the immortal productions of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, — the *trecentisti*, — the race of giants, whose words remind us of those gigantic trees, which, nourished by a virgin soil, tower up to a height that the cultivated products of civilization have never reached, throwing far and wide their branches for future generations to repose under their mighty shadows.

Then came the age of scholarship, when the mind, as if exhausted by original production, fell back on the labors of the past, and scholars, incapable of the higher flights of imagination, entitled themselves to the gratitude of posterity, by revealing the long-buried treasures of classic antiquity. With the classic models thus before them to form their taste, and with the resources of their own tongue fully displayed by the great writers of the earlier period, the Italians of the seventeenth century, — when other nations were just entering on the career of elegant letters, — produced those chaste and beautiful compositions, which have made the age of Leo the Tenth the Augustan age of Italy.

Then followed the usual consequences, when the ripening bloom, falling into decay, was succeeded by feebleness and corruption. The debauched taste, sated and disgusted with the wholesome productions on which it had so long been nourished, sought for novelty in others of a more artificial and meretricious kind. The simple ways of nature were deserted. The new was preferred to the true, and change, though a bad one, to constancy. This was the sad age of

the *seicentisti*, when the Italian muse, instead of the sweet wild-flowers of her native soil, bedizened herself with the false brilliants, the cold tinsel, of foreign foppery. Last came the eighteenth century, in which the more intimate intercourse between nations stripped somewhat of its insulated peculiarities from every literature, giving to each, to a certain extent, the characteristics of its neighbour. The north, in particular, with its dark and solemn musings, has communed with the spirit of the south, infecting it with somewhat of its own romantic and sadder temperament. It infused into it, also, a more masculine feeling, which led it, in Italy, to shake off the effeminacy of the preceding age, as it once more formed itself on the severer models of the *trecentisti*.

Such are the strong lines which have marked the great divisions of Italian letters. They have not been those, however, to which Signor Mariotti has conformed in his analysis. Indeed, his work is not properly a history of literature, but of the Italian mind, under the various forms, whether literary or social, in which it has unfolded itself since the Italians were a distinct people ; and the various causes, whether of a political or religious character, that have influenced the operations of the national intellect. The author's purpose is thus briefly stated.

"Down in a southern clime, amidst the silent waves of a tideless sea, there lies a weary land, whose life is only in the past and the future. It is my purpose to interrogate the monuments of her past, to throw some light on the secrets of her future.

"For Italy has been of late the favorite haunt of idle strangers, who have judged in haste and prejudice ; who have studied things, not men ; who have found no nation in Italy, but the dust of nations. An Italian may, perhaps, be expected to entertain different ideas. He who has looked to his country with the veneration of a son and the enthusiasm of a lover, who has mused on her ruins and shrines, and mingled with the crowds of her cities, may, perhaps, have known enough of Italy to be proud of her memories, and to live on her hopes.

"Thus, when endeavouring to engage public attention on so trite a theme as the history and literature of Italy, it is with the hope that an old subject may be presented under new points of view ; that from a rapid and general survey of Italy as she has been, may naturally result some illustrations of

what she is, and some conjectures as to what she is to be."—Vol. i. pp. 1, 2.

The first great period into which he divides his subject, is the Middle Ages ; and in the view of the different elements, which were silently working in that dark abyss for the formation of future excellence, he makes a comparison between the opposite spirit of Catholicism and Protestantism. The germs of the latter were lying in the womb of time, ages before its final developement. His remarks have interest, as coming from one bred in the Romish communion, and familiar by his residence with the Protestant.

"The reign of the Pope is over. The systematic attacks of the Reformation, and the blasting ravages of the French Revolution, have demolished the last remnants of the edifice of the misplaced veneration of our forefathers. Fallen from the opinion of the firmest believers, the temporal power of Rome is destined to end with the other political calamities of the peninsula.

"But whatever, in the verification of the brightest expectations of the warmest patriots, may prove the destiny of the court of Rome, it is not said, that it would necessarily bring with it the dissolution of the Catholic unity in Italy. Either owing to their natural tendency, or to the reflections arising from the past, such is at present the disposition of mind of that people, that they will sooner give up religion altogether, than have it dismembered into different sects and communions. The unity of faith, has always been a rallying standard to put an end to their discords and rivalries ; the different orders and ranks of society have always met at church on terms of equality. Should it be otherwise, now that Italy can only live by concord and harmony ?

"That same calmness and soberness of judgment, that same abhorrence of cavil and sophistry, that same tolerance and liberality, that deterred the Italians from plunging into the maze of Grecian heresies, has in later times equally prevented them from lending their ears to the best arguments of German Protestantism ; and that spirit of forbearance and temperance contributed to strengthen the bonds of religious unity in Italy, far more than the bulls of the popes and the firebrands of the Inquisition, which, in many instances, both individuals and governments boldly and successfully resisted.

"But wherever a free course has been allowed to theological investigations, human minds have rushed on so inconsiderately, they have been parted so far asunder, that it would

now require not less than the interference of the power of Heaven to bring them together anew ; and it is a fact, a striking, deplorable fact, that some of the Protestant denominations, by too busy a spirit of innovation, by too wide a freedom of discussion, and sometimes by the worldly jealousies and vanities of their ministers, have arrived at the same results to which the Catholics were driven by the errors and scandals of their church, — skepticism and infidelity ; with this difference, that the Catholics have fallen into such extremes out of disgust and resentment, the Protestants have come to them through pride and presumption.

" Catholicism, perhaps, even in its greatest purity, imposed more abrogation of reason, more implicit faith, than any effort of human virtue can assent to ; Protestantism gave to human curiosity and indiscretion, more latitude than is compatible with religious submission. The fault in both cases chiefly consisted in the degree of authority left to the clergy. The Catholic is firmly persuaded, that his priest would never wish to deceive him if he could ; the Protestant flatters himself, that his minister could not if he would. Hence the Catholic depends too much on another, — the Protestant relies too much on himself. But deception in Catholicism must be derived from a general conspiracy of all the clerical orders, from the Pope to the meanest of monks ; error in Protestantism can be the consequence of the sophisms of a divinity-school, or of the shrewdness of a single preacher, thirsting for notoriety.

" Certainly, a thinking Catholic, assisting at the ceremony where a hundred thousand people are prostrated in adoration before the vial in which the blood of St. Januarius is boiling, has occasion to blush at the creed of his fathers ; but a warm-hearted Protestant on his way to meeting, crossing a hundred currents of people walking in opposite directions, must feel a chill through his veins at the thought, that all those people are treading in the path of error and perdition. The reformed denominations have always aimed to preserve religion in its simplicity and purity ; the Catholics have labored to maintain it in its splendor and majesty. The Protestants have kindled their persuasion in the light of reason ; the Catholics have tempered their faith in the flames of charity ; there is more in Protestantism to satisfy the mind, in Catholicism more to fill the heart.

" As such considerations prevail in Italy among the most enlightened friends of religion, the unity of faith and worship will, according to all probabilities, be preserved in its forms, though under more large and liberal views. Prelates and cardinals, abbeys and nunneries, inquisition and censure, auricu-

lar confession, indulgences, and purgatory, — all these are rapidly losing their influence for ever ; but Catholicism, as a name, is still revered ; the most conscientious Christian in Italy has made his protest within the privacy of his heart, without being driven to an open profession of apostasy. Every man forms his sect by himself, and all those individual creeds meet in one church, as if for a tacit compact of mutual forbearance. — Vol. I. pp. 93 – 97.

We have not room for some acute remarks of our author, discriminating the nice shades of character, found in the different races and states of Italy, and which explain in a great degree the various aspects of her literature.

The second period in the work is that of the Republics, when all the powers of the Italian were called into exercise in that fierce struggle for freedom, too often faction, which was going on from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century in the great cities of Italy. It was under the influence of these exciting circumstances, that those master-pieces of literature were produced, before noticed, — the delight and despair of succeeding ages.

Signor Mariotti does ample justice to the muse and the memory of Dante. The stern virtues of the uncompromising exile are much more to his taste than the somewhat effeminate and accommodating character of Petrarch. Yet in a literary view, the latter was worthy of a place beside his more masculine rival. It was beauty succeeding vigor. Dante had revealed the power and compass of the Italian. But the soft breath of Petrarch could alone call out the melody and richness of this new and untried instrument. In forming the language, he has had an influence, probably greater than that of the "great Florentine" himself; and the gems, which he was the first to draw forth from the unwrought mine, still shine with untarnished lustre after the lapse of ages. Scarcely a word in him is obsolete. Let the Englishman go back to Chaucer, the Frenchman to his troubadours and *trouvères*, or to the chivalrous old Froissart, somewhat later, to estimate the value of this encomium.

If Dante had first established the power of Christianity for poetical purposes, neither can Petrarch be refused the merit of displaying this, and in a more touching form, in the verses which he wrote after the death of Laura. In his amatory effusions, both before and after this event, we find the moral

elevation which the modern lyric was to take above the ancient, in substituting the poetry of sentiment for that of the senses. This was no small boon to literature and to mankind.

We quote our author's portrait of the great laureate, sketched with spirit, though in colors not too flattering.

"The life of Petrarch and his works do not always perfectly harmonize.

"As a writer, Petrarch was not known to have ever disguised truth for any personal danger or interest. A guest and favorite of the Avignonese popes, he uttered the severest reproofs against the vices and infamies of their court. A friend and familiar of the Lombard tyrants, his voice was ever raised for his country, and he dared alone to utter his cry of 'Peace, peace, peace!' A creature of the Colonna, he applauded the efforts of Rienzi, which ended with the extermination of that family.

"Italy, truth, and humanity were dearer to him than his dearest friends.

"But why needed he to be the guest of popes, and minion of tyrants? Why did he continue a familiar with the oppressor, while his heart was bleeding for the oppressed?

"Petrarch was a virtuous man, but he was not a hero; his was a candid and generous, but not equally a rigid and steady character. To all his eminent qualities one was wanting, — the noblest attribute of man, — courage. He gave, in his lifetime, several proofs of that nervous pusillanimity, which is but too often inborn in the temperament of men of letters. Of this class of beings, Petrarch was the first type. It is now fashionably observed, that men of letters are a kind of middle creatures, between man and woman. Popes, emperors, and tyrants, had for him the regards to which a woman is entitled; and he who, according to his own expressions, feared those whom he loved, was seduced by the arts which generally decide a woman's fate, — flattery and caresses.

"He was disinterested and frugal; he despised wealth, or lavished it upon his friends, whom he always loved with unexampled fidelity. His poem, 'Africa,' was dedicated to King Robert when dead: his book, 'De Remediis utriusque Fortunæ,' to Azzo da Coreggio, when a fugitive and proscribed. He was exempt from ambition, and shunned honors, dignities, and all the cares of public life; but he was not equally inaccessible to vanity, nor to that petty jealousy and spitefulness, so highly derogating from a character of true greatness. He

mistook public opinion for glory, — he purchased the applause of his age at the expense of the censure of all following.

"The honors that awaited him wherever he moved, dazzled his judgment; the joy that his appearance roused, the halo that his laurel spread round his head, did not allow him to see objects in their real state; and such was then, indeed, the state of things, as to render his path exceedingly arduous and perilous. The differences between Guelphs and Ghibelines became more and more complicated. Petrarch was in Rome and Avignon a Guelph; he was a Ghibeline at Milan, Padua, and Parma; as a champion of humanity he was both, as a patriot neither.

"Petrarch was not the man of his age." — Vol. I. pp. 266–268.

Yet Petrarch, if wanting in the rugged independence of Dante, was not a servile sycophant. He was, indeed, a courtier, and enjoyed the intimacy of the best and the worst princes of his time; of the elegant Robert of Naples, and the sanguinary Visconti. But, though polished and courtly in his deportment, he never prostituted his pen to base and unworthy purposes. He never employed his brilliant panegyric in varnishing over vice, and in instilling the poison of degrading sentiment into the heart. Not unfrequently, indeed, we find him raising his voice with a noble swell of indignation against the corruptions of the time. With what boldness does he launch forth against the abuses of the Church! How earnestly does he implore the pontiffs, then ignominiously holding their court at Avignon, to transfer it to his native land, the capital of the Christian world! And how does his patriotic bosom beat with emotion at the contemplation of the fallen city, and her majestic monuments, majestic in ruin and desolation! These are the familiar topics which sometimes inspired the muse, but more frequently the letters, of Petrarch, in that voluminous correspondence, which connects him with the great and good of his age, and enabled him to exercise a wide, and in many respects salutary influence. These are his merits.

The third great triumvir, Boccaccio, was in his career scarcely less remarkable. For his writings, though in prose, are still revered as *text of the tongue*. The earliest period which we should venture to fix on as that in which the English language attained its pure and classic, — we will not say permanent, — form, would be in the time of Addison, prob-

ably. The French would scarcely go higher than the age of Louis the Fourteenth. Prose is always more slow in coming to perfection than poetry, which is the natural product of a young, imaginative people, who pour out the breathing thought and burning word with a freedom and vivacity that would be denied to sober prose. The first cultivated, poetry is, also, the first to reach its perfection. In Italy, however, the developement of prose and verse in its purest form was simultaneous. And in the darkness of the fourteenth century was produced the work of the "Hundred Tales," which has formed the great standard, not merely of verbal expression, but of structure of style. To this model may be referred, no doubt, that Ciceronian redundancy, with that Latinized complexity and inversion, which characterize the elaborate compositions in Italian prose. Its beauties and its blemishes lie, to a large extent, at the door of Boccaccio.

The author of the "Decameron," in early life, as the reader of it may well imagine, was not particularly exemplary in his way of life. His conversion, which was brought about in rather a singular manner, took place soon after the publication of his work, and is told pleasantly enough by our author.

"The 'Decameron' had made its appearance in 1353, and Boccaccio's fame spread far and wide; but this did not go far to improve his fortunes, which, on the contrary, sank lower and lower, partly by the wonted parsimony of republican salaries, partly by inconsiderate expenses occasioned by his literary pursuits, and partly, finally, also, by some indulgence in his dissipated tastes, which his long dealing in philosophy, and the influence of the age, had not yet thoroughly amended.

"His day of reform and conversion was, however, at hand, and the circumstances leading to that event are so singular, that the whole transaction has the look of one of the hundred tales of the 'Decameron.'

"The 'Decameron' had no sooner appeared, than a general uproar of scandal and indignation arose from all the churches and convents of Christendom. Boccaccio's name was uttered coupled with every term of invective and ignominy, so as scarcely to fall short of identifying him with the Antichrist.

"At length, a Carthusian monk from Siena, by name Giovacchino Ciani, moved by more kindly and brotherly feelings, never despairing of the omnipotence of grace, unwilling to

abandon any human soul to her doom as long as any breath of hope yet remained, set out on his way to Florence to rescue his prey from the hands of the evil one.

"He introduced himself to the poet, a most unusual and unexpected visiter, and asked for a private interview. There, after having exhausted all the topics of monkish eloquence, he informed him how, two nights before, the blessed Pietro Petroni, a monk of his order, for a long course of unblemished life the oracle of the convent, and just dead in odor of sanctity, had, on his deathbed, in his final confession under the seal of sacred secrecy, revealed to him the sentence that awaited Giovanni Boccaccio, if he continued impenitent; how the holy man, in his visions of agony, had read that doom in the face of our Redeemer, on whose august forehead all was written, the past, the present, and the future. The monk added, he was charged with similar missions for all the libertines of the age (rather, we should think, a laborious task), and that his last visit was reserved for Petrarch. At length, bending on the ear of his astonished listener, and lowering his voice to a whisper, the charitable monitor revealed to him some of the most important events of his life, of which Boccaccio believed himself the only depositary.

"Left to his own reflections, the author of the 'Decameron,' who had, in so many passages of his work, described the tricks and cheats of such cowled prophets and miracle-mongers, and admirably caricatured the very language employed by his ghostly adviser, now, by that air of unction and candor, was completely thrown off his guard, and gave himself up for undone.

"Then, in a fit of terror, preparing for his imminent fate, and resolving to repair to the same convent whence the awful warning had come, he burnt as many of his licentious works as were still under his control, and wrote his adieu to Petrarch, informing him of his new vocation. The calm admonitions of his friend partly revoked that hasty resolution. He persisted, however, in putting on the church robes, and his life was, to its end, sage and exemplary."—Vol. I. pp. 294–296.

To the age of the Republics succeeds that of the Principalities. The petty communities of Italy were a prey to all the evils, which agitate a wild democracy under the control of ambitious and unprincipled demagogues. Every convulsion in the capital shook the little state to its centre. In this general collision, all the powers were called into action. Great talents were developed, as well as great vices, and

sometimes virtues ; for it is in the darkest night that the electric spark from heaven is brightest. This fearful anarchy gradually settled into the despotic sway of some popular chieftain, who often committed more crimes to gain his petty sovereignty, than would have sufficed to win an empire.

Under these tyrants, literature was not smothered. It was turned into new channels. The rulers were mostly men of family and education. In the absence of an enlarged territory, they felt that their importance was to be established by a wider empire over the intellect. They drew around them scholars and poets, who might shed the lustre of genius over their little courts, and give them a consequence, which wealth alone would fail to give, in the eyes of a cultivated community. It is true, the range of speculation was limited. Many old grounds, connected with politics or religion, were shut up. And in the others, the wing of genius was not allowed to soar with the same boldness and freedom. A more courtly and fastidious literature succeeded ; one that ministered less to the higher and more serious aspirations of our nature, than to the love of pleasure. A refined and epicurean taste succeeded to the masculine and hardy temper of the earlier period. Every thing was adjusted by a classic model. Verbal elegance was more carefully studied. All those refinements and minuter delicacies of composition were cultivated, which had been unknown or contemned by the rugged pioneers of their literature.

It was characteristic of such a period, that the chivalrous epopee, the most prominent department of its literature, should be regarded, not as a serious and elevated theme, but as a field for the light skirmish of wit, — a sort of "field of the cloth of gold," where princes and cavaliers might meet to display their pageants, and encounter in holyday tiltings. Such was the conception which filled the brains of Pulci, Fortiguerra, and that swarm of gilded butterflies who sported in the thinner atmosphere of Parnassus. Even the graceful, tender muse of Ariosto could find matter for mirth in those heroic legends, told with that fine air of half-subdued raillery, which suited the courtly taste of his polite and incredulous audience. Not so, however, with Tasso, whose serious character did not belong to the age, nor the royal circles in which he lived ; and who, singing the song of a religious chivalry, kindled his inspiration with fire that was stolen from

heaven. In his portraiture of the two great masters of the romantic epic, Signor Mariotti evidently inclines to the bard of the "Jerusalem," whose high and solemn musings find a readier sympathy in his own breast, than the elegant pleasantries of Ariosto.

The fourth great division of Italian history brings our author to the period of Foreign Dominion, from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, — a period full of humiliation to the history, and in some respects to the literature, of the country. However unpropitious a domestic despotism may be to a liberal culture in its highest sense, it is freedom itself in comparison with the rule of a foreign master. The native prince feels that his own glory is inseparably connected with that of his people. He sympathizes with their tastes, warms with the same love of the beautiful, is open to the same genial influences, which stir the spirit of his countrymen. The foreign ruler is estranged from all these sympathies. He has no part or parcel in their language, their literature, or their annals. He rules over a conquered race, his natural enemies, — at least become so by his new position in regard to them. His great object is to secure his authority, not on the affections, — that cannot be, — but on the fears, of his subjects. He must break down opposition, and the means of it; crush intellectual movement; eradicate, if possible, the very seeds of intellect, and stunt those energies, which, if roused into action, would burst the bonds of the oppressor. Such was the policy of Spain in her colonial empire in Italy under Charles the Fifth. And such has since been that of Austria.

The age of the *seicentisti*, as the seventeenth century is called in Italy, passes as a by-word of literary disgrace. It is that in which the language became infected with the most deplorable affectations and conceits. It is natural, that a conquered land should take the humble rank and relations of a province, and should look for its models of taste to the capital of the empire. Something of this took place when Spain had set her colossal foot in Italy, in the South first, and afterwards in the North. The drama borrowed something in its construction from the complicated intrigue of the Castilian theatre, and poetry, in general, affected that meretricious ornament, those poor, tinsel conceits, which mark the *cultismo* of the Spaniards. Though, perhaps, in strict justice

to the latter, the affectations of the *seicentisti* may be carried up to the original depravity of native writers, and some of these, the most eminent. There is some warrant for Boileau's sarcasm of the *clinquant de Tasse*. And the imputation lies still heavier on the head of the great father of lyric verse, the bard of love and Laura.

Still, in the general intellectual ferment of this vivacious people, there was many a work produced both in prose and poetry, of a high order, and in a purer taste. This was especially the case in the eighteenth century, when a few scholars, as Parini and Alfieri, for example, resisted the general tide of corruption, and, by the strong power of genius, carried back their effeminate countrymen to the study of the severer models of the fourteenth century. We have not room for it, or we should extract some good criticism of our author on Alfieri's poetical character, and on Metastasio, the latter of whom, with his luxurious languor of sentiment and monotonous melody of versification, may be considered as the antagonist principle of the former. Unhappily, he was much more accommodated to the popular taste of his countrymen.

The last in the series of epochs defined by Signor Mariotti, is the present, or Recent Times, as it is called by him. In this he has taken a rapid survey of the influence exercised on Italy by the revolutionary spirit and movements of France; the efforts, — unhappily abortive, — made at different times by the Italians for their political emancipation; closing with a consideration of the actual condition of his country, and her future prospects, both in a literary and social view. Though an exile himself, he sees good ground for hope in the intellectual progress which has been already made, and is still going on, in the great masses of the nation. His reflections, though far from desponding, are tempered by a sobriety and good sense, not always to be found in the bosom of the exile. He rightly conceives, that little is to be hoped from a precipitate, spasmodic effort, and that a moral reform must precede a political one, to afford the latter any chance of permanent success. But we shall do more justice to our author by quoting his own words.

"The Italians have been so long estranged from each other; the name of their country has been so long buried in oblivion; their local interests have been so artfully directed into different and opposite channels; that their patriotic ideas,

— I speak of the unenlightened classes, — have still something vague and undetermined; the natural boundaries of the country seem to shift from one district to another, so as to induce the traveller to conclude, that, geographically as well as politically, there is no Italy.

"To efface from the minds of the people these last remnants of illiberal provincialisms, rather engendered by ignorance than ill-will; to foster the redeeming idea of Italian nationality, the intelligent classes in Italy are actively employed.

"To bring about the reform and enfranchisement of the national language, the works of Perticari, Monti, Cesari, and other philological writers, have assiduously contributed, since the beginning of the nineteenth century. They have hastened the downfall of that old edifice of pedantry, by which the Academia della Crusca had brought the Italian language to a dead stand. The still surviving universities, no less than the primary and infant schools, — recently disseminated wherever they did not, as at Rome, meet with unconquerable opposition on the part of the government, — have left nothing unattempted to bring the most uncouth dialects to the level of the purest Tuscan standard. The vocabularies of the Venetian, Sicilian, and every other provincial *patois*, printed with a view to aid the people in their acquirement of the written language, and the republication of Italian dictionaries at Bologna, Verona, Naples, and Padua, announce a new fact, about which foreigners never entertained any doubt, but which, as I have said, had never been sufficiently established since the age of Dante, — that there is an Italian language.

"The annual meeting of eminent scientific men at one of the several universities of the country, will have a most salutary effect on the progress of science, by enabling the most active scholars to meet, to court, to understand and mutually appreciate each other by the assurance of the reward of national suffrage, which awaits the result of their efforts at every reunion of that scientific diet.

"It would be difficult to express with what extraordinary enthusiasm several hundred *savants*, the representatives of the aristocracy of the mind in Italy, convene from the remotest provinces to make the enumeration of the services rendered by their forefathers to the interests of science, — to lay the first stone of monuments to be erected to their memory, — to demonstrate, by their own endeavours, that science in Italy is certainly neither in a backward nor yet in a stationary condition; and whoever reflects that this is the first time, perhaps, since the days of Pico della Mirandola, that the Italians have been convoked even for so innocent a purpose, will easi-

ly sympathize with people so placed, as to hail the meeting of a few professors and scholars as a national triumph, and make it a subject of universal rejoicing.

"The privilege of copyright will bring the interests of the different petty literary centres of Turin, Milan, Venice, Florence, &c., to a common understanding, secure the free circulation, at least, of all the works published in the country; whilst the increase of daily, weekly, and monthly periodicals, will hasten and extend their diffusion, and lay the basis of a universal Italian bibliography. For hitherto, the Italian despots did not even agree in their system of oppression; or rather, they were sometimes pleased to flatter their subjects by a little display of comparative mildness, and indulge in the specious illusion of a precarious independence. But the equitable intercourse of literary commerce, necessarily attendant upon a mutual guaranty of copyright, will soon bring a beneficial uniformity in the police regulations of the different states; and the Italians, are not, perhaps, too sanguine in their expectations, if they hope, the decree on literary property may be considered as a first step towards the establishment of a moderate freedom of the press. — Vol. II. pp. 367 – 370.

One may have a sufficient notion of the disastrous effect to authors from this want of copyright protection, by a single glance at the map of Italy, showing into how many separate states the country is divided. Each of them is filled with an active, hungry tribe of publishers, who, the moment any new offspring of the brain is fairly fledged, and has left the parent nest, pounce on it as fair prey for their own cormorant appetites, while the author himself is starving, perhaps, in a garret. Botta's "History of Italy" was making the fortunes of booksellers at home, who published and republished it, while he was an exile, in the extremity of poverty, in Paris. Manzoni's "Promessi Sposi," the most popular novel of the time, brought its author only a trifling sum, and that in the form of a gratuity from a publisher!

We can better appreciate the nature and extent of the evil, from being exposed to a similar one in our literary intercourse with Great Britain. It is true, we are distinct nations; scarcely more so, however, than the different Italian States. We have, like them, a community of language, and, although an ocean rolls between us, the improvements in navigation have brought us nearer to each other for all practical purposes, than is the case with some of the nations of Italy. Yet such is the indifference of our government to

the interests of a national literature, that our authors are still open to the depredations of foreign pirates, and, what is not less disgraceful, the British author, from whose stores of wisdom and wit we are nourished, is turned over in like manner to the tender mercies of our gentlemen of the trade, for their own exclusive benefit, and with perfect indifference to his equitable claims. A very striking case of this national injustice is forced on our notice by the presence of Mr. Dickens among us. No one has enjoyed such a literary triumph in the homage of a grateful public, since the coronation of Petrarch. But what does it all amount to? We dine him, and dance him, throw up our caps and *fête* him, in every possible way, till human nature sinks under it; but as to the solid compensation by which the real value of things is settled, we take it all to ourselves. We read and praise. But our praise is not worth a penny — to the author. He asks us for bread, and we give him a bubble, — the bubble reputation; for which, indeed, he owes us no thanks, since he has blown it up with his own breath. We do not mean to underrate the homage thus spontaneously paid by individuals to this eminent writer, which he has so well won by his remarkable talents employed in the cause of humanity. It is an expression honorable alike to the party which gives, and to that which receives it. But it is all incomplete, unless the nation secures to him, and to other writers of his country who stand in a similar relation with him, the full benefit of their labors, thus enabling itself to demand for American writers a corresponding protection from literary pillage on the other side of the water.

But it is time to bring our hasty remarks to a close. In reference to mere style, the work before us is altogether extraordinary, as that of a foreigner, laboring under all the embarrassments of a language, so different in its organization and genius from his own. It is true, we occasionally meet with phrases and idioms intimating its exotic origin. But they are far from ungraceful, and only show, by the rareness of their occurrence, how intimate the author has made himself with the nice mechanism of the English tongue. In the higher quality of thought, we may commend him for his acute and often original criticism, and his quick perception of the grand and beautiful in his native literature. However we may differ, too, from some of his conclusions, we must admit his liberal

views, on all themes of moral and political interest, and the ardent, yet not intemperate patriotism, which still binds the exile to the beautiful land of his birth. His volumes cannot be commended, indeed, as an elementary text-book for the young beginner. But to those who have made some advance in Italian literature, and to cultivated minds generally, they will suggest much food for meditation, melancholy though it be, on the singular destinies of a nation, which, endowed with the fatal gift of beauty, seems doomed to contend in vain against circumstances, — in the eloquent language of her poet,

"Per servir sempre, o vincitrice, o vinta."

ART. V. — *On Natural Theology.* By THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D. and LL. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, and Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France. New York: Robert Carter. 1840. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 404 and 420.

DR. CHALMERS was one of the persons appointed, under the will of the late Earl of Bridgewater, to write a treatise "On the Wisdom, Power, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Creation." This general subject being divided into eight branches, the portion of it allotted to our author was "The Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Condition of Man." The work which Dr. Chalmers published, in compliance with this call, has been for some years before the public, and we have had occasion in this Journal to express, incidentally, our opinion of its merits. The volumes now before us contain a republication of the Bridgewater Treatise, with some additional chapters on the argument for the being of a God, and on a few other subjects, designed so far to fill out the deficiences of the former publication, as to entitle the entire work to be called an exposition of the whole science of Natural Theology. These supplementary portions of the book are all that require present notice, and very few words may suffice for a consideration of their merits and defects.

Dr. Chalmers does not appear qualified in an eminent

degree, either by the peculiarities of his style, or his habits of study and thought, to become a scientific writer. With a great command of words, considerable power of amplifying a subject, and, at times, of expressing himself with much force and earnestness, he lacks precision of statement and definiteness of views. His style is often incorrect, and almost always verbose and tumid, and, amidst a wilderness of words, the reader is sometimes at a loss how to find any meaning whatever. Such a style may be very effective in the pulpit, where familiar thoughts are to be handled, to be amplified and set forth under every variety of aspect. The constant repetitions will enable the hearer to comprehend the general drift of the argument, and the swell and copiousness of language will fasten it upon his memory. But the inaccuracy and vagueness of such a manner are serious objections in a scientific treatise. One is often puzzled by contradictory statements, and loses sight of the chief object of inquiry, while the author is expatiating at great length on some incidental topic.

But these defects might be pardoned, if they did not proceed from much confusion of thought, and a hasty manner of prosecuting an abstract inquiry. Dr. Chalmers elaborates nothing, but gives out the first draft of his arguments and speculations, pretty much in the order in which they first occurred to him. Consequently, there is no proportion between the parts, but a crude mass of materials is presented, which, if duly worked over, might be found to contain many sound remarks, and some trains of reasoning and reflection, followed out with considerable success. The subject of his Bridgewater Treatise, forms but a small fraction of the whole science of Natural Theology. But, desirous of publishing something, that should appear to cover the whole ground, without revising or retrenching to any extent the original work, he annexes to it a few introductory chapters, interpolates one or two more in the body of the book, and then sends it forth as a new and complete treatise.

Dr. Chalmers is not a learned writer; at least, not in this department of science. Of many important contributions to Natural Theology, he makes no mention whatever, and thus many arguments and objections pass unnoticed by him, a full consideration of which is essential to any effective treatment of the subject at the present day. Dr. Thomas Brown is

about the only philosophical writer, with whose works he appears to be fully acquainted, though neither the general reputation, nor the completeness of this author's speculations, make him a very safe guide in abstruse and difficult inquiries. Dr. Chalmers does not in himself possess sufficient acuteness and skill in treating metaphysical questions to make up for this lack of information, and the chapters in which he hazards any attempt at subtile and refined reasoning, as, for instance, in answering the objections of Hume, are among the least satisfactory portions of the book.

In spite of these defects, there is some valuable matter in these volumes. Dr. Chalmers has a full perception of the true nature of the question, and a clear insight into the principles on which it must be resolved. If he has not added much to the argument for the being of a God, he has not perplexed it with any extraneous matter. Good sense and a vigorous mind may be discerned through the cloudy envelope of words, in which his remarks are enclosed. The spirit in which he has conducted the inquiry, and the general tenor of his reasoning, may be inferred from the following remark.

"We hold it with Paley greatly more judicious, instead of groping for the evidence of a Divinity among the transcendental generalities of time, and space, and matter, and spirit, and the grounds of a necessary and eternal existence for the one, while nought but modifications and contingency can be observed of the other, — we hold it more judicious, simply to open our eyes on the actual and peopled world around us, — or to explore the wondrous economy of our own spirits, and try if we can read, as in a book of palpable and illuminated characters, the traces or the forth-goings of a creative mind anterior to, or at least, distinct from matter, and which both arranged it in its present order and continues to overrule its processes." — Vol. I. p. 113.

The expression here is a fair sample of that wordy manner, of which we have complained; but the opinions, which are stated, respecting the proper character of the reasoning to be employed in Natural Theology, appear sound and judicious. They agree substantially with the views, which we attempted, in a very imperfect manner, to set forward and defend in the last number of this Journal. * As we propose

* See pp. 102 *et seq.*

to resume the subject, with a view to correct some possible misconceptions of those views, and to consider more at length the inevitable consequences of encumbering the science of Natural Theology with metaphysical speculations, it may be worth while, for the benefit of those who have not perused the former article, to restate, in a very succinct manner, the ground which was therein taken.

We endeavoured to show, that the great doctrine of Natural Theology does not belong to that class of abstract and mathematical truths, to which alone demonstrative reasoning is applicable ; — that the being of a God is a reality, and his existence a fact, to be proved like any other fact in natural science, by arguments of the same kind, though superior in number and force. An examination of all the forms of the *a priori* argument was intended to prove, not only that the reasoning itself was entirely inconclusive, but that it was founded on a misconception of the nature of the question at issue ; — that the proposers of it, by overlooking the distinction just mentioned between two classes of truth, which are wholly unlike, had fallen into the grave error of representing the Divine Being as a mere abstraction, and thereby, though unintentionally, had played into the hands of a set of metaphysical atheists of our day, who would fain pull down the Eternal from his throne in the hearts of men, and substitute in his place a principle, — an idea, — a nothing, — without consciousness, personality, or intelligence. We sought to point out the true character of the argument *a posteriori*, or the proof from design, and to show its completeness and sufficiency ; — to prove, that the only objections to it were of a metaphysical character, and proceeded from the misconception noticed above ; — that, by exhibiting the unfitness and inapplicability of such abstract reasoning in this case, not only would the science of Natural Theology be freed from the rotten supports and profitless speculations, by which it had been encumbered, but also the only sound argument for the vital doctrine at issue would be relieved from all the cavils and objections, by which it has been attacked, and be placed on its true basis, alike unassailed and unassailable. A comparison between the truths which the theist seeks to establish, and the doctrines of all the inductive sciences was meant to prove, that they must stand or fall together ; — that the reasoning which invalidates the one would be equally conclusive against the others ; — and that the reasoner had

accomplished enough both for faith and practice, when he had shown, that the great fact of religion can be attacked only by arguments, which would subvert the whole fabric of human knowledge, and render all belief and action alike impossible.

These views were very inadequately explained in the short space to which the limits of a single article confined us ; and much might now be said to elucidate and support them. But we do not intend to go over the same ground again, except for the sake of correcting some misconceptions, and of examining more fully a cognate subject, — the propriety of mingling the science of metaphysics with that of theology, or rather of uniting the two in a close and indissoluble union. A full and fair consideration of this question might be serviceable at any time and under all circumstances ; but the discussion of it appears particularly seasonable at the present day, when abstract speculation has taken a wider field and a bolder license, than it ever assumed before.

And here it may be remarked, once for all, that we are dealing with opinions, and not with persons. This is neither the time nor the place for impugning the motives of individuals, for throwing doubts upon the purity of their faith, or of charging upon them the consequences, that are fairly deducible from their opinions. All abstract speculations may be considered as published anonymously ; there is a better chance of weighing them with candor and correctness, when the personal character of their authors or supporters is not allowed to bias the decision. It is possible to expose and reprobate in the plainest terms the sophistical character of an argument, or the degrading and pernicious effects of certain doctrines, and yet not " bate a jot " of the high respect due to men who may have used such reasoning, or entertained such sentiments, without examining with due care their purport and tendency. In showing that the *a priori* proof leads by necessary consequence to a doctrine, that can hardly be distinguished from atheism, we are not using an argument *ad invidiam*, nor attempting to cast a reproach on the reputation or the principles of those who adopt and defend such reasoning. The name of the great champion of this argument stands too high in the English church to be tarnished by the slightest breath of suspicion or calumny. But the liability to gross abuse is in itself a consideration of weight against the

adoption of any class of speculations ; and a false and destructive doctrine, that is fairly deducible from them, constitutes a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole system. As such, it may properly be pointed out, and held up to public reprobation.

In distinguishing the two modes of proving the being of a God, as the *a priori* and the *a posteriori* argument, we were fully aware, that there is an ambiguity in the use of the former term. But the usage of English writers has been so uniform in this respect, that a misconception was hardly possible, except by bringing in the different application of the phrase, which has become current among the imitators and disciples of the German philosophers. Yet, to avoid the chance even of this mistake, we stated, that, "if the meaning of the term be restricted to original and intuitive perceptions, which are independent of experience, the distinction implied by the two phrases does not exist. These first principles of belief are implied in every act of ratiocination ; they are taken for granted in the argument from experience, and in every other proof." These intuitive perceptions are called "principles of common sense" by Reid ; Stewart designates them as "fundamental laws of human belief" ; Kant calls them "*a priori* cognitions of pure reason." Now, it is perfectly idle to adopt this Kantian phrase as the only legitimate one, and then to heap up authorities and arguments to show, that such intuitive elements of truth enter into every process of reasoning, and, therefore, we must argue *a priori* for the existence of a God, or not at all. No one, who is at all acquainted with the subject, ever doubted this fact. But the admission of it makes nothing in favor of what is technically called the *a priori* argument in Natural Theology ; and to allege this fact in such a course of reasoning, and with such a purpose, is mere sophistry.

According to its etymology, and its use in treatises of logic, an *a priori* argument is one in which the reasoning proceeds from cause to effect, and from principles to consequences. And that Dr. Clarke really intended to use it in this sense, appears from a passage in one of his letters to a correspondent, who had brought forward the objection, that such reasoning could not establish the existence of a *First* Cause. Dr. Clarke replies, by affirming that a First Cause could be deduced from the antecedent principle of *necessity*, and by reasoning which should be strictly *a priori*. "For though

no thing, no being, can be prior to that Being which is the First Cause and original of all things, yet there must be in nature a ground or reason, a permanent ground or reason, of the existence of the First Cause. Arguments may and must be drawn from the nature and consequences of that necessity, by which the First Cause exists." It was quite pertinent, then, on our part, to restate the objection made by Clarke's correspondent, and to show that the answer to it was not satisfactory, because the reasoner had actually, though unwittingly, assumed an empirical *datum*, or a fact from experience, in his proof, and thereby had wholly destroyed its *a priori* character. He promised to lead us up to the great truth of all religion by a new path, — to "nobly take the high *priori* road, and reason downwards"; but, after a little digression, he conducts us back again to the old travelled way, where alone we can obtain firm footing.

But, as neither mode of explaining the phrase "*a priori*" supplies a plain line of demarkation between the two classes of proofs, under all the forms in which they have been proposed, we conceived, that they might be aptly distinguished, by considering the one as a professed *demonstration* of the object sought, and the other as laying claim only to *moral* certainty in the conclusion. This distinction is not incidental and unimportant, but it expresses the fundamental difference between the two modes of reasoning, and it covers the whole question, with which we have any thing to do. Dr. Clarke called his book a "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of a God," and repeatedly alludes with satisfaction to his favorite mode of reasoning, as producing absolute certainty, while the argument *a posteriori* afforded only moral proof. "The proof *a priori* is," he remarks, "as I fully believe, strictly demonstrative"; though he immediately admits, that "it is of use only against learned and metaphysical difficulties." Descartes placed his ontological proof of the Divine Existence at the very foundation of his philosophical system, which was to do away with all doubts and uncertainties in speculation, and supply an immovable basis of truth, as a starting-point for all subsequent inquiries. He sought to establish this great fact next after that of his own existence, at a time when he still professed to doubt the reality of the outward world, the deductions of experience, and the truth of every principle in philosophy and science.

Having secured this point, as he imagined, in a way that defied all scrutiny and doubt, he proceeded to erect upon it the whole fabric of human knowledge.

Now, half the evil consists in the magnitude of these pretensions. It is plainly implied in them, that the other argument, which leads only to *moral* certainty, is insufficient, that mankind must either renounce the belief in a God, or accept the fine-spun reasoning and philosophical systems with which this doctrine has been connected. A technical distinction in logic between two kinds of evidence is set up, as if it affected our belief of the facts which they tend respectively to support. Practically, this is not true; the two sorts of reasoning differ in kind, but not in degree. Everybody knows, that the highest degree of moral proof produces a conviction, which all the demonstrations ever invented could neither amend nor increase. As the logicians talk, not even death is certain, but what person's hope or fear of that dread event would be quickened by a demonstration, that it must happen. The reader of this page is not, in logical phrase, *absolutely certain* that the black marks upon it were not produced by mere accident, — by upsetting an inkstand, for instance. It cannot be demonstrated, that any human being ever designed to convey any meaning by them, or that, in pursuance of this purpose, a printer was employed to set up the types, and thus produce the requisite symbols of thought. But the reader's conviction of this fact is firm, notwithstanding the alleged defect of evidence, and all the reasoning in Euclid could not increase his faith. In like manner, the sublime dogma of the existence of a God is written all over the face of creation; but some philosophers would fain persuade men to shut their eyes, and not read the characters, because, forsooth, the truth is not demonstrated by them.

An analysis of the celebrated argument of Descartes showed that this philosopher also, as well as Dr. Clarke, had deceived himself in respect to the true character of his reasoning, which really proceeded from the effect to the cause, though he fancied that it was strictly *a priori*. Having proved, as he thought, that the idea of God in his own mind did not come from the senses, nor from his own imagination and reflection, it followed that the Infinite Being himself must have placed it there, that it might bear evidence to its Creator. After exposing the fallacy of the supposition, that the

whole idea of Deity, as it exists in an educated and intelligent mind, is intuitive and innate, because some of its elements may possess this character, we remarked, that the argument, at best, was only a proof *a posteriori*, for it was "the same thing, whether we reason from the anatomy of the body or that of the mind, when the peculiar structure of each is the only ground for affirming, that it is the work of an intelligent Creator." Descartes was guilty of an inconsistency, moreover, in introducing the argument at such an early stage in his inquiries, when he had as yet proved only his own existence, and the presence of ideas to his mind; for, although the reasoning did not appeal to the external world, it took for granted the law of causality, or the legitimacy of arguing from the effect to the cause, a principle which the philosopher had not yet demonstrated, but which, with all other principles, he had expressly called into doubt.

It may be objected to this account, that Descartes proposed his argument in another form, in which, without resting on the law of causality, he argued directly, from the internal characteristics of the idea itself, that God must exist. But those who make this objection ought to know, that the form in which we stated the argument was the one originally adopted by the philosopher, and explained at large in his "Third Meditation," where it supplies one link to the chain of principles and reasonings, which form his metaphysical system. Afterwards, when hard pressed by his opponents, and, as it appears to us, with a view of covering his retreat by logical artifice and a cloud of words, he restated the argument in a form, which may be found in his "Answers to Objections." Very brief extracts will suffice to show, that Descartes really proposed the argument which we attributed to him. The following is from his "Third Meditation." "Although the idea of *substance* is in me from the very reason that I am myself a substance, still, I, who am a finite being, could not have the idea of an *infinite* substance, if it had not been placed in me by some being, who was truly infinite." And in the "Answers to Objections," he expresses himself still more plainly, thus: "The existence of God is demonstrated by its EFFECTS, — from this fact alone, that his idea is in us." We were guilty, therefore, of no injustice toward this philosopher, in affirming that the argument, which was embodied in his system of philosophy, was wholly

a posteriori. The other statement of the proof, though it excited more discussion at the time, from the skill with which it was worded, which renders it difficult to detect the fallacy, is now admitted to be sophistical, and, as such, is generally abandoned. Precluded by our limits from following Descartes through all his discussions with his opponents, we considered only that form of the proof, which he originally proposed and incorporated into his system, and which is admitted to be sound so far as it goes, although it is not of an *a priori* character; while we put aside the second statement of it, which was only an after thought, and is now universally acknowledged to possess no weight whatever. Certainly, the omission did no injustice to Descartes.

This second manner of stating the argument may be briefly expressed as follows, — very nearly in the author's own words, though sentences are brought together, which are not united in his "Answers to Objections." The existence of God is known from the mere consideration of his nature; for necessary existence is contained in his nature, or in the conception of God, as it is present to our minds. Possible existence is contained in the notion or idea of all things, which we conceive clearly and distinctly; but necessary existence is contained only in the idea of God. Now, it is a greater perfection to be a real existence and to be in the understanding also, than to be only in the understanding. But my idea of God is that of an all-perfect being; therefore he really exists. Or the argument may be still more briefly stated as follows; In the idea of God are contained all the attributes of a perfect being; but necessary existence is one of those attributes; therefore, he necessarily exists.

We presume that any person, when this argument was first proposed to him, would say, that it must be a sophism, or a mere play upon words, though he might not be able at once to detect the fallacy. It forcibly reminds one of the puzzles, that are often inserted in treatises of logic, as exercises for the learner, where the conclusion is at once perceived to be an absurdity, though it seems to rest on perfectly formal and legitimate reasoning. In this case, the whole fallacy consists in substituting the phrase "necessary existence" for the "idea of necessary existence." It is perfectly correct to say, that the *idea* of necessary existence enters into our complex notion of a God. But the reality

does not follow from the idea, any more than the reality of a winged horse follows from my conception of such an animal, — of Pegasus, for instance ; or, still more pertinently, the reality in this case can no more be inferred from the idea, than the actual presence of a perfect circle on the paper before me can be deduced from the mathematical, that is, the perfect, conception of such a circle, which exists in my mind. To say, that "necessary existence" is contained in the idea of God, is to talk nonsense ; for real existence is the direct opposite of ideal existence, and it is, therefore, a contradiction in terms to affirm, that the former is contained in the latter. But we are ashamed to offer a serious confutation of such sophistry. Descartes would scarcely have proposed it, if he had not thought to escape from the assaults of his opponents by a logical juggle.

It seems hardly necessary to allude again to Cousin's argument, which that writer himself has reduced to an absurdity, by showing what is the only conception of a God, to which such reasoning can lead. But, as it is possible to modify so vague a statement materially, without losing any of its essence, and, by combining it with the Cartesian proof, to give the whole argument a plausible air, it may be worth while to examine it more closely. The compound argument, made up from the reasoning of Cousin and Descartes, may be explained as follows. Our internal recognition of ourselves as finite, limited, imperfect, and dependent beings, compels us to form the conception of a Being, who is infinite, unlimited, perfect, and independent. The reasoning, thus far explained, shows how the idea of God rises in the soul, but supplies no means of passing over from the idea of him to the conviction of his actual existence. It is said further, then, that the conviction which we have of our own *dependent* existence as realities, necessitates the belief in a being on whom we depend, as equally a reality, and not a mere idea. Dependence implies one who affords support, just as much as design implies a designer. The author of that support cannot be another dependent being like ourselves, for then the question arises, on what does *he* depend ; and so on, until we arrive at a being, who is the aider and supporter of all.

Now it must be remembered, that we have to do only with the assumed *a priori* character of this proof, — with the assertion, that it supplies a means whereby we can pass from

the idea of God in the soul to a knowledge of the reality, without having recourse to experience, — and with the consequent assertion, that, as the reasoning contains no empirical element, it supplies demonstrative proof of the Divine Existence. Then, the first question which arises, respects the original and intuitive character of these four characteristics of human nature and existence, as they exist in our idea. Does consciousness, previously to all experience, make us known to ourselves under all four of the attributes or qualities here enumerated? Certainly we know, whether by a primitive intuition or not, that we are limited, imperfect, and, — in one sense of the word, at least, — finite. But how *dependent?* This is the attribute, which is added to Cousin's enumeration, and the whole force of the present argument is rested upon it, though, by so doing, the reasoner takes for granted the very point at issue. We wholly deny the possibility of learning from consciousness, by a direct and spontaneous perception, that we are dependent beings. The feeling of dependence must be subsequent to a knowledge of the being or thing, on whom we rely for support, just as the feeling of gratitude is necessarily subsequent to our recognition of a benefactor. Gratitude and dependence are both ideas of relation; both imply a subject and an object; and it is absurd to suppose, that a relative idea can first suggest the knowledge of one of its terms. If I am already aware of the existence of another being besides myself, I can have an idea of the relationship in which he stands to me, as father, brother, or friend; but it is preposterous to suppose, that I can first have a general idea of relationship, and be guided by that to a knowledge of the person to whom I am related. The argument inverts the order of the two ideas. It is either experience or the knowledge of a God, which teaches us the folly of entire self-reliance, and not the feeling of depending upon something, which teaches us what that something is.

This knowledge of our condition as dependent beings does not come so early in the history of ideas. We soon learn the frailty, weakness, and imperfection of our nature, but only slowly and by degrees are we made aware of the fact, that there is one without and around us, whose constant providence sustains the weak structure, and prevents our frail nature momentarily from sinking into decay and ruin. A stone is a limited and imperfect thing, a dead and power-

less mass; but it does not so readily appear, at first sight, a contingent and dependent substance, which was created and made what it is, and endowed even with the force of gravity, by which it is fastened to the earth. The hypothesis of the materialist and the atheist is at least a conceivable one, that it always existed, and that it continues to exist by blind necessity and the nature of things. In like manner, animal, or even intelligent, life, small as its powers are, and limited as the sphere is, through which they act, does not appear immediately, and to the uninstructed understanding, as an existence supported by a power foreign to itself. The heart beats and the lungs play seemingly by the force of their own mechanism, and without interference; and ideas come thronging into the mind in what appears a constant and necessary connexion, to which, at the first glance, we attribute neither limit nor end. But the understanding, enlightened by experience of interruption and decay, and instructed by analogy, learns the really frail and contingent constitution of this nature, and that it must be constantly upheld by a power external to itself, or it would sink into dissolution.

And here we might leave the argument, as stripped of its undue pretensions and metaphysical character, and retaining whatever weight may be attributed to it among the other proofs from experience, with which it may be classed. But there is another fallacy in the original statement of it, which, as it shows the impropriety of representing it as only a modification of the Cartesian proof, may here be pointed out. We observe, then, that the force of the reasoning depends in no degree whatever on the *idea* of dependence, but only on the *fact*, as ascertained and verified by experience, or by any other means. The fact, that human nature is weak and incapable of supporting itself, compels us to believe in a creating and sustaining Deity. But the idea or thought of such dependence, so long as it is not corroborated by proof, does not accredit this doctrine, any more than the belief in the independence of human nature, which it is very possible some skeptics may entertain, vouches the truth of the atheistical hypothesis. And it cannot be said, that this idea has a place among the primitive intuitions of the soul, and therefore deserves credit for its own sake, though destitute of any support from without; for, besides the insuperable objections which we have already urged against such a classification,

it is violating all probability and all the rules of philosophy to assign an *a priori* origin to a cognition, which experience is perfectly competent to supply.

And here one observation may be addressed to those, who are so much interested in opposing the doctrine of Condillac, that all our knowledge comes from the senses, or the less objectionable one, which is commonly ascribed to Locke, that all knowledge is founded on experience. It is poor policy on their part, to multiply hastily and unnecessarily the number of those principles, to which they ascribe an intuitive and spontaneous origin. We believe, that there are other ideas, like that of cause, the *genesis* of which cannot satisfactorily be explained, either by external or by mental experience. But their number is not fully ascertained, nor are their characteristics clearly defined ; and it behoves the philosopher to proceed with the utmost caution in making additions to the list. To seek support for any hypothesis or argument by hastily claiming the character of an ultimate principle for the idea on which it rests, and branding all those, who oppose or doubt it, with a disposition to favor the Sensualist school, is merely to go on spinning one ideal cobweb after another, which the skeptic will sweep away with the first stroke of his besom. Such a procedure is the poor resource either of indolence, which will not attentively examine, or of sophistry, which would willingly deceive.

A striking instance of this willingness to multiply ultimate principles, may be found in the speculations of some writers upon the argument from final causes. They affirm, that *design* is an intuitive idea, a conception of pure reason, called out and developed, it is true, by experience, but not growing out of that experience. We can hardly believe that they are serious in this assertion. If *design* be considered merely as synonymous with *intention*, or *purpose*, then it is evident, that we can have no knowledge of it until we have had experience of a purpose, that is, until we have intended or designed to perform some act. The origin of the idea is in reflection, or the observation of what passes in our own minds. So we experience a certain emotion, and apply a name to it, in order to distinguish it from other emotions, that differ from it in kind, or are excited by a different class of objects. But it would be very strange to say, that love, or wonder, or pity, was an intuitive idea.

It is very true, that we mean something more than mere *intention*, in speaking of the argument from final causes. But the case here is still stronger against the assertion, which we are now considering. In this case, design is a very complex notion, nearly all the elements of it being drawn from mental experience. They are founded on our observation of ourselves, and are successively elaborated and united into the complex notion, which we call design. The idea rests originally on a perception of the relation of means to an end. Having observed, that a particular event followed immediately after another, or several others, and connecting the consequent with these antecedents, by an intuitive application of the law of causality, and believing that the course of nature is uniform, or that like effects will follow like causes, and desiring that the consequent event may again occur, — we *act*; that is, we exert our agency to bring about events similar to the former antecedent ones, doing this under the expectation, that a similar consequent event will follow. Thus design implies, — first, *intelligence*, or a knowledge of the laws of causality and uniformity; — secondly, particular *experience* of some one event, A, happening in immediate connexion with several others, B and C; — thirdly, a *will* to reproduce the event A; — fourthly, *action*, in order to bring about the events B and C, under — (fifthly) an *expectation* that A will immediately follow. Are these five elements *all* of *a priori* origin? Is not action necessarily implied in design? And how can we have an idea of it until we have acted; that is, until we have had experience, and derived knowledge directly from that experience?

It is, indeed, in the complexity of this notion, that the importance of the argument from final causes almost wholly consists. Wherever we find indications of design, there is evidence, to an equal extent, of intelligence, will, activity, and foresight. The God there revealed, is an individual, self-conscious, and creative being, and not a mere vague principle, dimly inferred from transcendental musings, — *aliquid immensum infinitumque*, — but without personality, activity, or intelligence. And this difference between the conclusions, to which the two kinds of reasoning lead, is frankly acknowledged by the greatest advocate of the *a priori* scheme. Dr. Clarke expressly admits, that the intelligence of the Deity cannot be established by the demonstrative method, but must be inferred from the evidences of design.

The same disposition to multiply the spontaneous elements of human intelligence may be seen in the speculations of several writers on the nature of the religious principle in the soul. They place it in the same class with the emotions of beauty and moral approbation, affirming that, in each case, there is not only a feeling or sentiment, which leads us to appreciate the beautiful, the virtuous, and the holy, but an idea on which this sentiment rests, a type of the object to which it relates; so that the soul is originally endowed, not only with a feeling, to be called out and exercised by knowledge subsequently acquired, but with a primitive notion or pattern, by comparison with which we learn to correct whatever is afterwards afforded by experience, and to distinguish the real from the factitious, the true from the false. We have no room here to go over the broad field of discussion, that is opened by this theory. We can only point out a single, but insuperable objection to the whole scheme, and notice the fallacy of the theological argument, that is founded upon it, together with the mischievous consequences, to which this argument leads.

To begin with the theory of taste, it is urged, that we immediately pronounce an object to be beautiful or the opposite, and that this decision must proceed from a comparison of the object with the idea of beauty previously existing in our minds; that this standard cannot be the recollection of another beautiful object, previously seen, for the question then arises, what made us esteem this previous object beautiful; we are driven back, therefore, to the theory of a primitive pattern or archetype of beauty, originally existing in the human soul, by a reference to which all the principles of taste are determined. We maintain, on the contrary, that man is so constituted, that the sight of peculiar objects immediately calls up an emotion of pleasure or disgust; that this emotion, having characteristic features, and being distinguished thereby from all other emotions, receives its distinct name as the sentiment or feeling of the beautiful; that its presence being agreeable to the mind, we are led to search after objects which will excite it; and that objects are immediately perceived to be beautiful or not, according as they call up this emotion or its opposite, and not in reference to any idea or standard whatever, whether founded on previous experience, or evolved by spontaneous intuition.

Now the question between these two theories must be determined, if at all, by known facts respecting the growth or cultivation of taste in the individual mind. The judgment of the child and the uninstructed person in matters of taste is grossly erroneous. A gaudy dress, a tumid style, a daub with bright colors, an unmeaning jingle of sounds, excite a pleasant emotion in him ; and his admiration of such objects for the moment is perhaps as hearty, as the delight which a cultivated mind experiences on surveying the wonders of ancient or modern art. But experience soon corrects the faulty decision. The full glow of wonder and delight at such perceptions passes off at the first view. If the objects are repeatedly seen, the emotion no longer arises. The individual finds, upon trial, that less obtrusive and glaring sights gain on him as they are examined ; that the emotion rises as high and continues longer, when the object calls up by association a greater number of kindred ideas ; when he is enabled to perceive a meaning and purpose in the disposition of the parts ; when colors are so disposed that they harmonize and pass into each other by imperceptible gradations ; when the drawing accurately represents known scenes and persons ; in fine, when the mind is longest occupied in tracing out resemblances, proportions, relations, and associated ideas. For during all the time that the attention is thus occupied, the pleasant emotion continues, while it rapidly passes off after the first view of the former objects, which afford no such prolonged occupation to the intellect. The individual may now, if he choose, return upon his steps, and form a theory respecting the elements common to those objects, which he found to afford him the greatest and most durable pleasure, and thus lay down principles of taste, and form an artificial standard of beauty, whereby to direct his future judgments.

How do these facts accord with the two explanations given above ? All persons of cultivated minds agree with each other, so far as the emotion is concerned ; they all admire the same things. But when they come to discuss the principles of taste, to determine the idea of beauty, no two theories are alike. And the judgment in respect to pleasing objects is instantaneous. The beholder does not stop to compare the sight, either with a natural or artificial standard, but pronounces at once on its beauty or deformity. Mr. Alison did not wait to reckon up all the associated ideas, which

a landscape, a statue, or a painting, brought to his mind, before he determined, whether it was beautiful or not. He experienced the pleasure first, and afterwards labored to find its sources. Moreover, if there be an original idea of beauty in the mind, the judgment of the child must be more correct than that of the critical student of *æsthetics*, for the idea in his case is nearer its fountain ; it is less perverted and dimmed by experience.

This discussion, introduced only to illustrate our main argument, has already carried us too far, though a multitude of other considerations might be adduced against the theory, which assigns to the idea of beauty a place among the primitive intuitions of reason. But enough has been said, perhaps, to leave no doubt in an unprejudiced mind. We come then to examine a perfectly similar instance, the nature of the religious principle in the soul. We believe, that man was created with a capacity and inclination for worship, with a deep feeling of reverence and veneration, which finds no appropriate object on which to expend itself among the persons and things, with which it is associated on earth, but constantly seeks for such an object, and usually obtains it in the conception of some spiritual existence, higher and holier than itself. Benjamin Constant properly designates this principle as the religious *sentiment*, and with great learning and ingenuity has traced the history of its developement under all the religious forms and systems, which have obtained at different times among the inhabitants of the globe. The feeling itself, however powerful, is blind and instinctive ; its object is not given along with it, but is left to be traced out by the active intellect, questioning and interpreting the operations of nature. In this respect, it agrees with the feeling of moral approbation and the sentiment of taste, which are respectively a capacity of being deeply moved and affected by a view of right actions and beautiful scenes, but which remain dormant, until a perception of such objects calls them forth. The idea is not given along with them, for if it were, they would remain constantly in exercise. It is even a sign of a morbid, though excited state of the moral sentiment, when its energies are spent on the contemplation of some ideal and abstract pattern of virtue, instead of being applied practically in determining right actions, and directing conduct. So the religious emotion is unprofitably wasted, when it is turned from the con-

templation of an infinite Being, and diffused over vague and abstract principles, with which it can hold no communion. Its proper object is a person; its proper expression is worship. And, unless prayer is a mockery, and the devout affection itself a feverish delusion, such a Person exists, and, by instilling this sentiment, has erected his own altar in the hearts of men.

If we seek to go further, and to find by the side of this feeling, or beneath it, an innate idea of the object to which it relates, we are either drawn into the heated region of mysticism, or engage in a vain contest against accredited facts in psychology and history. The idea cannot be found in the undisciplined mind, and, if it could, it would not prove the existence of its object. Every person would frame his own unreal and fantastic conception, to usurp the name and prerogative of this idea, and, resting on the fidelity of this assumed intuitive notion, he would not allow it to be corrected by the light of nature or the deductions of reason. The conception of the Divine nature would thus be corrupted by the crude and debasing notions of the illiterate understanding, or by the insane fancies of the mystagogue. But the doctrine, that the proper object of the religious feeling is to be sought in study and contemplation of the material and intellectual universe, which, if such a being exists, is his work, leaves our idea of his nature to be corrected and purified by the increasing fruits of such study and the natural growth of the intellect. It does not oblige us to shut our eyes on all ulterior sources of information, on all indications of his character afforded by his works, for fear of tarnishing or falsifying his primitive image in the soul. This doctrine creates the science of Natural Theology, the study of which, according to the other hypothesis, is a needless and unprofitable task. The existence of the religious feeling does not afford a direct argument for the reality of its proper object, but it creates an antecedent presumption, which is of no small weight and importance in the inquiry, which it first excited and stimulated.

But the metaphysical theologians of our day are not content with the undoubted fact, that a religious sentiment exists, as a part of the original constitution of our nature, unless they can add to it an *a priori* conception of pure reason. Compelled by a multitude of unanswerable facts and argu-

ments, for a plain summary of which we may refer to the first book of Locke's "Essay," to relinquish the position, that there is an innate and distinct idea of God in the soul, they have recourse to the vague and inappreciable conception of the Infinite, sometimes boldly identifying it, as Cousin does, with the Divine nature, and hereby reducing the Deity to an abstract idea, and sometimes avoiding this conclusion only by generalities and unmeaning phrases. Were this theory introduced, not in connexion with the theological argument, as a resting-point for religious faith, but as a part of a metaphysical system, as pure speculation, its vagueness and uncertainty might be pardoned, in view of the necessary imperfection of philosophical language. But in such a connexion as this, bearing on the most momentous of all facts to the human race, we feel constrained to ask for an explicit account of the idea, on which the whole religious fabric is made to rest. What is this conception of the Infinite? Is it of a person, or thing, which can be made an object of worship? Or is it merely an attribute of being, like intelligence, justice, or holiness? Or is it rather an attribute of an attribute, a word expressive of the degree, in which certain qualities exist, as when we speak of "infinite goodness, mercy, and truth"? Does it exist as a clear conception in the mind, or is it a word that merely expresses the incapacity of the human intellect to comprehend the extent of certain attributes? Does it merely teach, that certain qualities go beyond the reach of human understanding, but how much beyond we cannot tell? Natural Theology is a practical science, as it is wholly occupied with truths which are intended to exert a direct influence over the conduct of men, and we have a right, therefore, to demand that the terms used in it should be clearly defined.

This predetermination to find an instinctive religious idea in every human soul has led to much profitless discussion of the question, whether any real atheist ever existed. At least, apart from this theory, we see no good cause for disputing, whether one philosopher or another can properly be called by this name or not. The appellation implies reproach; it is a contumelious one, and some may desire to relieve a favorite author from the opprobrium, which it conveys. There is some Quixotism, perhaps, in contending with great earnestness to free from this accusation a writer

who has long since passed off the stage, and has left none behind him, that have an immediate interest in his reputation. With his memory, be it good or bad, we have nothing to do. The real question is, whether certain writings have an atheistical tendency ; whether certain opinions lead to atheism, or constitute atheism itself. And this question can be very easily resolved, if we do not allow ourselves to be blinded by a most arbitrary abuse of terms. The doctrine that only one substance exists, and that this substance is material, has existed from all eternity, and is governed only by necessary laws inherent in itself, we suppose all will admit to be atheism. The common name given to this substance and its inherent attributes is *Nature*. But let a writer strenuously uphold this same doctrine, only changing the name of the substance, and calling it God instead of Nature, and great offence is given, if he is pronounced an atheist. In like manner, some of the ancients, denying the existence of any other gods, believed in one infinite and omnipresent principle, which, though without foresight, intelligence, or personality, directed all events by its irresistible agency ; and this opinion, if not atheism, is admitted to be something very like it. But some modern metaphysicians propound the same theory, only naming this principle *God* instead of *Fate*, and they, forsooth, are good theists.

Again we say, Do not let these remarks be misconstrued, or tortured into a charge against the good name of any particular writer. Our only purpose is, to illustrate the mischief and folly of introducing metaphysical theories into the domain of natural or revealed religion. Nor do we seek, in any manner, to depreciate the study of that science, which, as in some sense the head and fountain of most other sciences, assumes to itself, *par excellence*, the name of Philosophy. We attempt only to ascertain its proper limits, and to maintain its authority within those limits. And here we do but follow the admirable precept of Bacon, whose authority in this question, both as a philosopher and a believer, is surely entitled to respect. "*Tantoque magis hæc vanitas inhibenda venit, et coërcenda, quia ex divinorum et humanorum malesanâ admixtione, non solùm educitur philosophia phantastica, sed etiam religio hæretica.*"

To return for a moment to the hypothesis of an innate idea, on which religion is founded, we observe, that it is con-

tradicted by the endless variety of religious systems, which have obtained in the world, and which still exist among men. This variety is precisely what might be expected, if the human race, feeling an irresistible impulse to reverence and adoration of something higher and holier than themselves, but having no primitive and common idea of the object of universal worship, should proceed to search for it with that degree of the light of nature and reason, which can be attained in different stages of refinement and mental cultivation. The savage makes his idol of a block or stone, and in many cases worships it with a fervor and self-sacrifice, that shame the colder homage offered by a civilized race to a nobler God. The half-enlightened barbarian finds a Divinity all around him, and peoples the mountains, the streams, and the forests with their attendant deities. More cultivated still, his thirst for knowledge leads him to study the heavens, and the sun, moon, and stars become the gods of a religious system, which seems by comparison almost spiritual. Finally, whether by the last triumph of the unaided intellect, or by special revelation, the sublime doctrine of monotheism is preached to the world, and calls for the purest form and highest degree of reverence, of which the human heart is capable. How comprehensive and vague must be that universal idea, which is realized alike in the Fetish of the savage, the Olympic council of Grecian deities, the heavenly bodies, and the God of Christianity. No wonder, that the philosophers have chosen the most vague and ill-defined word in the language, — the "Infinite," to express this common idea.

We have discussed nearly all the forms, in which the *a priori* or demonstrative argument has presented itself, and our readers can decide for themselves on the justice of the extravagant pretensions, that have been advanced in its favor. The question about its amounting to a perfect demonstration of the point at issue is too idle to be entertained for a moment. If there be any truth in logic, no question about real existence, nothing but general truths and pure abstractions, can be established by demonstrative reasoning. And with respect to these, the moment that the problem is solved, of finding the proper media of proof, and the chain of argument is complete, no doubt can be entertained for a moment of the reasoner's success. The mere existence of the question, therefore, is sufficient proof, that in this case he has failed.

No one doubts that the reasoning in Euclid is demonstrative, that the equality of the three angles of a triangle to two right angles is established with absolute certainty. But in this case, there are not only the atheists, who deny that the point is proved at all, but many believers, who can see nothing but a bundle of assumptions and sophistries in the argument, which, according to some persons, is apodictical. There is no escaping the force of this consideration, unless some one has the impudence to maintain, that among the multitude who question the validity of the *a priori* argument, there is not one who is capable of understanding it. We will not stoop to notice this allegation, further than by adverting to the fact, that in no form of this argument does the conclusion lie more than a step or two from the premises. The reasoning either of Descartes, Clarke, or Cousin, can be fully stated in three sentences. There are many persons, who are not able to read the *Principia*, or the *Mécanique Céleste ;* but very few, who cannot put together the first three propositions in geometry.

The question, whether it be good policy to expose the inconclusiveness of any argument adduced in favor of this great doctrine, will not detain us long. Truth can stand on its own basis, and needs no support from sophistry. We do not hold to cheating people into the belief of any thing, — not even of the existence of a God. But, in respect to the good intentions of those who bring forward this plea, and who wish to leave untouched every prop on which the tottering faith of a single individual can by any possibility find support, this consideration should not be so summarily put aside. We affirm, then, that the question does not relate to the entire validity, but to the proper character of certain proofs. It has been shown, that the reasoning both of Descartes and Clarke involves an element *a posteriori*, that the whole force of it rests upon this element, and consequently, that, when the argument is properly stated, it is perfectly legitimate and conclusive. We feel no scruple in combating the reasoning of Cousin, in the precise form in which he stated it, for that philosopher himself has unwittingly exposed its atheistical tendency. * But the other forms of the *a priori* argument, when stripped of the metaphysical abstractions and sophistries, by

* See *North American Review*, No. CXII. pp. 35, 36.

which they are encumbered and rendered unintelligible to many minds, and of the pretension to absolute certainty, which serves only to discredit the other proofs, when placed beside them, may all be welcomed into the science of Natural Theology, as tending, with more or less force, to substantiate the truth, which all minds are interested in supporting. We remark, further, that this anxiety to preserve every argument, so that the question may be decided by their cumulative weight, appears rather inconsistent on the part of those reasoners, who affirm that several of these proofs amount to a perfect demonstration. The mathematician is quite satisfied, when he has found one mode of demonstrating a proposition, and never thinks of searching for another, except as a matter of pure curiosity.

But an unwillingness is manifested to reduce the great doctrine of the Divine existence to the class of contingent truths ; and it is openly asserted, that, in the endless series of years, which we are here obliged to contemplate, an argument founded only on probabilities gradually wastes away, and finally disappears entirely. Here is the very mistake, which we have already commented upon, of supposing that moral and demonstrative reasoning differ not only in kind, but in degree. We repeat it, then, that a fact which rests upon moral certainty is equally conclusive and satisfactory with a principle which is established with absolute certainty ; and we appeal to the convictions and conduct of the whole human race in support of this assertion. If it were no more possible to doubt the being of a God, than for any individual to doubt, that his own death must happen some time within a century, atheism and skepticism would be practically impossible. But there are a multitude of contingent truths, in comparison with which even the probability of death appears faint and uncertain. Human intellect is made up from them ; man's life is guided by them from the cradle to the grave. To affect anxiety, lest men should have no more evidence for believing the great doctrine of theology, than they have for thinking that food will nourish, fire burn, or water drown them ; that any city exists, which they have not visited ; that any person lives, with whom they have not conversed ; or that any one intelligent being exists except themselves, — is an absurdity only to be equalled by supposing, that the faith which they have in these things, whatever it may be, can be

increased and strengthened by a metaphysical argument made up of pure abstractions, which the greater part of mankind cannot understand at all, and would pay no attention to it, even if it were intelligible.

The assertion which we are now considering goes the whole length of affirming, that merely probable evidence in this inquiry is not satisfactory, and ought to be rejected altogether. Let those who make it remember, that the ablest supporters of the argument *a priori* frankly admit, — what appears, indeed, on the very face of their proof, — that the intelligence of the Deity cannot be substantiated by their reasoning, and must be accepted, if at all, on the ground of moral conviction. Are they prepared to maintain, that, while the being of a God is demonstrated, his intelligence is not satisfactorily proved, and ought not to be admitted? Are they willing to teach mankind, that disbelief of the Divine existence is indeed an absurdity, but that any faith in his wisdom and providence is fallacious; that we have no good grounds for supposing him to be any thing else than an unconscious principle, acting from blind necessity, without intention or foresight? No; they are not ready to defend or believe this monstrous proposition. Though the philosophers, to whose guidance they have unwisely committed themselves, really contemplated this consequence of their reasoning, and wished to inculcate it, their Christian disciples, at least, rather than accept such a corollary, will gladly renounce the demonstration.

In arguing against the sufficiency of moral evidence for the being of an Infinite Creator, by alluding to the endless lapse of years, which, according to some reasoners, it is necessary to consider in the reasoning, there is a want of fullness and precision in stating the difficulty. At the first view, the objection does not appear pertinent, for what has eternity to do with the question? The lapse of time does not affect truth. A probability, which amounts to moral certainty now, will possess the same value and degree countless ages hence, as it did centuries ago; for then, even as now, "the heavens declared the glory of God, and the firmament showed his handy-work." The circumstances or phenomena, on which the argument is founded, remaining the same, or being constantly reproduced, the conclusion must follow with equal certainty through all time. We admit, that

if the argument from design inferred the being of a God only from an act of creation, which took place six thousand years ago, or more, the difficulty alleged assumes meaning and pertinency, though it has little value. It is founded on the noted atheistical assumption, as old, at least, as Lucretius, that a fortuitous concourse of atoms in an infinite series of years may take the appearance of regularity and adaptation ; — that the chance of order is at least one out of an infinite number of chances of disorder, and therefore must occur at least once during an eternity. Knowing, — if it be not a contradiction in terms, — that an infinite series of ages has passed, we can only infer from the phenomena around us, that we live at the particular epoch in eternity's history, when chance has assumed the appearance of order and design. Thus, by the anxiety to invalidate or throw a suspicion on the argument from final causes, which encourages us to look for proof, not in abstract propositions, but over the whole face of nature, the objector unwittingly gives in to that low theory of materialism, which represents the universe as a great machine, that was wound up at the time of creation, and has continued to go on mechanically ever since, without interference, oversight, or support from its Maker. He forgets, that the difficulty alleged has neither force nor pertinency, when the argument from design is so stated as to prove, not merely that a God did exist, when the world was created, but that he exists now, and is continually manifesting himself in fresh works of wisdom and goodness. Divine energy was not exhausted in first building a world. It continues and acts, and creation is constantly going on around us.

The argument from design, properly applied, gives proof of intelligence and activity from the continuance, and not merely from the beginning, of things. It proceeds not only from the creation of the race, but from the birth of the individual. In the seed which swelled under the last night's rain, in the shoot which appeared under this morning's sun, it finds proof of ever present and ever acting power. To the reflecting theist,

> "The world's unwithered countenance
> Is bright as at creation's day,"

and reflects as clearly its Maker's image. Having already glanced at this aspect of the argument in a former article, our

limits will not permit us now to enter the broad field of remark and illustration which it opens. But a single view may be taken of it, from a point which lies so near the metaphysical argument, that it may be acceptable to those persons who can trust to nothing but that kind of reasoning.

Admitting, for a moment, the general principle, which we regard as wholly indefensible and unphilosophical, that in the *material* universe the argument from the effect to the cause finds place only at the beginning of a succession of beings, and not at any one link in that succession, in the world of *mind* we have irrefragable evidence at every step, which leads us up from the created directly to the Creator. This evidence appears in the essential unity of personality, in our recognition of the indivisible *Ego* in consciousness. *I* am *one*. The living, sentient, thinking being, which I call *self*, possesses a separate and indivisible existence. It is *necessarily* one, for we cannot conceive of it as many, or as separable, or divisible in any sense. Such a supposition is an absurdity. But I began to be; for time was when I was not. Then whence came I? The theory, — which we are here taking for granted in respect to the world of matter, — which refers the beginning of an individual's existence to the first creation of the race to which he belongs, which considers intelligent life as continuous through a succession of beings, one springing out of another, and then giving birth to a third, by virtue of principles infused or machinery contrived in the race, when the original progenitor of it was formed, — this theory, we say, will not hold in the present case. It is contradicted by the great fact of my existence as an indivisible unit. Complexity of parts, according to the materialist's hypothesis, is essential to the propagation of existence. The seed exists in the fruit; the germ exists in the seed. It is afterwards taken from the fruit and the seed, and begins to exist as a distinct plant. But this is the commencement of its *separate*, not of its *total* being. It existed before; it was in the parent plant, as a part of it, and its birth was not a creation, but a division of existence. The beginning of any material life, a tree, a flower, an animal, is not the creation of any thing new, but the developement of a germ, which existed ages before, — which has lived ever since the world was. But the beginning of intellectual life, the essential unity of which is attested by consciousness, cannot be ex-

plained by mere separation. It cannot give birth to another by division of itself. In fine, the materialist affirms, that birth is but a separation, and growth but an accretion and assimilation, of parts that previously existed, though in an inorganic state; for it is a necessary part of this hypothesis, that the number of primary particles in the universe is neither more nor less than it was at the creation. Meeting him on his own ground, we reply, that his own personal existence is certain proof, that at least one unit has been added to the mass of being, since the formation of the universe. Of course, we have every reason from analogy to believe, that the beginning of life in all cases, even animal and vegetable, is the addition of a unit to the sum of being, and therefore a direct act of creation, as much as the building of a world or a system. But only in intellectual life have we positive evidence of this fact from consciousness.

Fully to expose the erroneousness of that grovelling theory of materialism, which deprives this fair universe of the present and continuous agency of the Creative Mind, would carry us far beyond our present limits. Returning, therefore, to a consideration of the course, which is likely to afford most support to the doctrines of Natural Religion, it may be remarked, that the only effectual answer to the objections of the metaphysical skeptics consists in showing, that their reasoning is wholly inapplicable and impertinent. Of course, the atheist must be met wherever he is to be found; but he can be successfully met as well by showing that his arguments have no bearing upon the point at issue, as by exposing the fallacy and inconclusiveness of the arguments themselves. Every one knows, that nearly all the skeptical objections to the doctrine of the Divine existence are of a metaphysical character, and are directed solely against the unwise assertion, that the reasoning of the theist is demonstrative. The two most formidable opponents of the doctrine, Hume and Kant, reasoned entirely in this manner. Probably neither of them wholly disbelieved the doctrine itself, but, with all the perverse ingenuity of a skeptical turn of mind, and the pride of a subtile intellect in detecting and exposing the assumptions and sophistries of the metaphysicians, they labored to create an apparent opposition between the faith of the heart and the deductions of the understanding. They attacked, not the Christian believer, but the philosophical dogmatist. They

showed triumphantly the inconclusiveness of the demonstration, but left untouched the overwhelming probability arising from the moral argument. Kant expressly admitted, that the proof from final causes, if not set forward as a demonstration, is sound and legitimate. Arriving at the same conclusion by a different road, Hume attacked the *necessary* reasoning from the effect to the cause, but avowed, both in his writings and conduct, that we must believe in a causal connexion ; and some passages in his later writings are construed, not without reason, to imply that he himself, on this ground, admitted the being of a God. He was a better reasoner and a more acute thinker than most of his opponents, for he perceived the exact reach and application of his own arguments. Both of these philosophers were guilty of a want of ingenuousness, perhaps also of a direct intention to deceive, by not constantly avowing that their objections reached the theistical argument, so far only as it claimed to be a demonstration of the point at issue, and thereby leaving it to be inferred that they invalidated the whole proof. And this erroneous inference has been confirmed by the course adopted by many writers on the opposite side, who, more anxious to defend metaphysics than to support Natural Theology, have unwisely joined issue on the point as presented by the skeptics, and failing, — where, according to all the principles of logic, they ought to have expected failure, — to establish the proof as a demonstration, they have allowed their own ill-success to be imputed to the weakness of their cause. And yet they turn round on one who advises the abandonment of this point, which nobody but a metaphysician cares any thing about, and accuse him of withdrawing the props of theological science, and weakening the position of the theist.

If Natural Theology be placed on the same level with the other inductive sciences, the great truths which it involves are for ever secured against the assaults of general skepticism and atheistical philosophy. No reasoning can touch it, which does not in a still greater degree affect the certainty of every proposition in human science. The irrelevancy of nearly every atheistical argument, which can be found in the books, will appear at the first glance ; and the skeptic must either abandon the discussion altogether, or find some mode of attacking religious truth, without making at the same time the insane attempt to crush the whole fabric of man's belief into

utter ruin. But this secure position cannot be taken, unless the defender of theism will give up his pride in metaphysics, and his undue pretensions. He cannot deny to his opponent the use of such weapons as he wields himself. He cannot reject in one part of the argument the issue which he offers in another. While one party reasons with Descartes and Clarke, the other will reply with Hume, Spinoza, and Kant; and, where entire victory is not possible on either side, the advantage will always remain with the skeptic.

It is very true, that the doctrine of the being of a God would be set aside by the establishment of universal skepticism, — by a system of philosophy which destroys all belief, tears up all the sciences by the roots, and leaves mankind incapable of knowledge, action, or hope. But in such a general calamity, who cares what single plank is saved from the wreck? Why is Natural Theology singled out as the only science that is to be burdened with the necessity of fighting alone against an assault which is to destroy all, and in warding off which, of course, all the sciences are equally interested? The geologist, the chemist, the astronomer, do not deem it necessary to commence their labors with a demonstration of the fundamental principles of belief, and the sufficiency of the human faculties for the pursuit of truth. They leave this task for the metaphysician, as falling wholly within his province. Let him go on with his proper work of erecting intrenchments along the whole borders of human belief, and making incursions into the ground of skepticism, and we bid him God speed in the enterprise. But do not let him fasten on the one fact which is dearest of all to man, as if that alone were interested in his success, and thereby make it alone responsible for all his mistakes and failures. Let him, at least, give some plausible reasons for such a course; let him show some ground of distinction between Natural Theology and Natural Philosophy, which compels the proficient to adopt a mode of defence for the former, which he would be laughed at for using in regard to the latter. The being of a God is a truth of practical and vital importance. The defence of philosophy against the assaults of general skepticism is a purely speculative contest. Whichever way determined, it never affected the actions of any sane person since the world began. Hume ate his dinner, not doubting that the *effect* of the food would be to nourish and strengthen his body; and

he wrote and published his books, fully believing that intelligent people would read them, though he had no grounds to believe that any such persons existed, except by arguing from experience, — from the indications of intelligence and design. And yet he sought to deter men from believing in the existence of a God, by arguments that ought to have prevented him from swallowing food, or from writing a line. No! we do him wrong; he expected no such thing. He proposed a logical puzzle for the philosophers to solve, and they strangely supposed that all religious belief was involved in their success.

If the doctrines of Natural Religion only were at stake, — if the evil stopped with the injudicious treatment of the argument for the being of a God, — this protest against the introduction of purely speculative metaphysics might seem to be too warmly expressed. Unhappily, the mischief does not end here. No one, who has watched the progress of speculation of late years, can be ignorant of the use made of the intimate connexion between religion and philosophy, to set up a claim of precedence and authority for the latter, which is wholly of human origin, and to reduce the former to a mere province to be governed, modified, and altered at will. That ominous phrase, "the philosophy of religion" is constantly dinned into our ears, even by theologians, while we seek in vain for any evidence of the religious character of the popular philosophy. The effect thus far has been, to give to all the doctrines of faith something of the wavering and unsettled air, which belongs to the fluctuations of metaphysical opinions, and the rise and fall of systems. The question is not like one between different theological sects, which acknowledge a common rule and guide, but it concerns the establishment of a new standard, by which all forms of religion are to be tried. In fine, the question is, whether we are to have a religious faith with something fixed, with the God of nature and the Scriptures to rest upon, or whether we are to take such a one as the philosophers will make for us, which shall be one thing under the system of Kant, and another under that of Cousin.

If it were not for the serious character of the subject, one might even be amused at the extravagance of the claims put forward by speculative metaphysicians, and their assumption of perfect authority to decide on all matters of religious be-

lief. They ground their theories on the supposed intuitive ideas and convictions of the soul, which are multiplied and characterized at random, and which it is sensualism, or atheism, or something worse, to question or deny ; and, building upon these premises what they call a structure of demonstrative reasoning, they arrive at results that are *necessary*, — which mankind *must* believe. To these results, all preconceived notions, all matters of mere religious faith, all revelations grounded on testimony, or other sources of what is only *moral* evidence, must either give way or conform. Take an instance in what is commonly termed the *Transcendental Philosophy*, or the system of Kant. By a critical survey of the human understanding, he undertook to separate what is contingent, empirical, and uncertain in man's belief, from what is absolute, original, and imperative. Confining the term *knowledge*, to those elements which present these latter characteristics, he attempted to determine and classify them all under the name of the "*a priori* conceptions of pure reason," and thus to supply an immovable basis for all future systems of philosophy. In this undertaking he followed the example of Descartes, who, as we have seen, propounded his theory in order to do away with the endless mistakes and retrogressions of former philosophers, and to create a foundation with absolute certainty for future effort.

As the scheme, in both instances, covered the whole field of human knowledge, the dogma of the Divine existence came naturally to be examined, and its claims to be discussed, by both writers. But in this portion of the task the Frenchman was more fortunate than his German successor. Descartes fancied, that he had found a demonstrative proof of the being of a God, and this doctrine was accordingly built into his theory, as a component part of it. Kant was not so happy. He tried all the proofs that had been offered, and found them all defective ; and he completed his work by proving to a demonstration, that no proof could be offered, that the subject lay entirely beyond the reach of the human faculties, that the arguments for and against, must always balance each other, and, consequently, that no decision was possible. But, as it appeared that men were not very willing to give up the old-fashioned notion of a Deity, in a subsequent work, the "Critique of Practical Reason," or the survey of the moral faculty, Kant found occasion to admit the

doctrine in question, not as substantiated by any process of reasoning, — for this he expressly disclaims, — but as an assumption, a postulate, a proposition which men must believe, though they can show no reason for it. At this point, the theory was taken up by a zealous disciple, and carried forward to the criticism of revealed religion on the same principles, which had settled so satisfactorily the claims of Natural Theology.

Fichte's "Critique of all Revelation" was only the anticipation of a work subsequently performed by Kant himself; the same results, substantially, being obtained, that were afterwards developed in Kant's treatise, entitled "Religion within the Limits of mere Reason." Fichte proposed to establish a "Critique," that is, a fundamental examination on the principles of the Critical, or Transcendental, philosophy, not of that revelation in which Christians are specially interested, nor of any other in particular, but of all possible revelations. In other words, supposing the existence of a God, and of a race of beings constituted and situated as we are, he proposes to determine whether it be possible, that he should make a special communication to his creatures, and, if so, in what way it is possible. The inquiry is to be carried on, not as a mere speculation, but like a piece of mathematical reasoning, and the results, if any are obtained, are to be as little susceptible of doubt, as any theorem in Euclid.

And what are the results, at which the inquirer arrives in this bold attempt to settle the bounds of human belief, and prescribe laws to Omnipotence, as to the manner in which he shall make known his will to mankind? Why, that any revelation is unnecessary and impossible, — at least, that it can never be recognised as such, though we may wish to believe in it; — that the revealed doctrine can make no addition to our knowledge or our hopes; — that, if it contains any thing more than the law written in our own hearts, it cannot be of divine origin; and, if it be perfectly coincident with that law, it is useless, and can in no proper sense be called a revelation; — that, although the conception of a miracle is possible, a miraculous event can never be known as such, from the want of a sufficient test; — and that a revelation by means of such events could not be addressed to any persons but those who had lost even the desire to comply with the demands of conscience, and its usefulness even to them would cease,

when the moral sense was once awakened. Such is the result of a system of philosophy, that sets up the entire supremacy of the "*a priori* conceptions of pure reason," and of demonstrative reasoning founded upon them, — thus erecting a metaphysical tribunal, before which all faith in God, in the Scriptures, in any revelation, is to be brought for trial, to be modified or rejected at will. The sophism in respect to revealed religion is precisely the same with that which we have attempted to expose in the province of Natural Theology. Beginning with the assumption, that moral evidence in such a case is wholly unsatisfactory and deceptive ; and, seeking for demonstration where, from the nature of the case and the laws of the human mind, it cannot be obtained, they find it not, and consequently declare, that man's faith is vain, and all religious belief, properly so called, is a mere delusion. Of course, a revelation attested by miracles is an external fact, and must be proved, if at all, by testimony and experience. But these are sources only of moral reasoning ; and, as such a proof, even when carried to the highest extent, is declared to be insufficient to establish the belief in a God, so it cannot confirm our faith in a revelation of God to men. In the latter case, unfortunately, demonstration is admitted on all hands to be impossible, and, therefore, nothing remains but to renounce our faith in revelation altogether.

This is but a single specimen of the arrogant manner in which the claims of religious faith are treated by those writers, who assume that all theology is but a province of philosophy, but one speculation among many others, all of which must be brought to their tribunal, and judged by the standard of their metaphysical theory. In the flood of philosophical systems in Germany, the publication of which followed the daring innovations of Kant, many other examples might be found of an equally summary and destructive treatment of the doctrines both of natural and revealed religion. The infidel movement in that country, hardly second in extent and importance to that which the Encyclopedists commenced in France, if it did not take its rise among the philosophers, certainly borrowed from them its arms, its general aspect, and its influence. The infidel publications are saturated with the terminology, the forms, and the doctrines of the modern schools of metaphysics, to an extent that makes them hardly

intelligible to one, who has not a previous knowledge of this new philosophical jargon.

We know that an attempt is made, to trace the commencement of these infidel speculations in Germany, beyond the philosophers of that country, to the influence of the English deists, as they are termed, — to the writings of Collins, Tindal, Chubb, and Morgan. Those who can find in the speculations referred to, any of the characteristics of the English tone of thought, any traces of similarity in argument and doctrine between the two classes of writers, must be gifted with greater powers of perception than are usual, or, — what is far more likely, — with a predisposition to find or see nothing to the prejudice of German metaphysics. The purpose of such a strange assertion, is to trace the root of the evil, not to its home among those modern speculations in which it took its rise and its peculiar aspect, but to another country, and to a class of unbelievers, whose errors may with some show of reason be attributed to the philosophy of Locke. It is the singular fate of this last-mentioned philosopher, whose writings, more than any others of the class to which they belong, are pervaded with the Christian spirit, and devoted to a defence of the Christian faith, to be made accountable for nearly all the speculative errors and infidel opinions, which have been broached since his time. It is not enough, that the skepticism of Hume, and the sensualism of Condillac are laid to his charge, but he must be made accountable also, by implication at least, for the extravaganzas of a set of German infidels in our own day; though it would be difficult to find a stronger contrast, in point of thought, expression, and doctrine, than that which exists between their speculations and the writings of the father of English philosophy. The idle calumny, which imputes to him the origin of the debasing theory, entertained by the French sensual school of the last century, has been refuted a hundred times, and deserves no further notice. Even the assertion, that Hume borrowed his principles from Locke, if understood to mean that the philosophy of the latter especially favors the skepticism of the former, or leads to it by necessary implication, so that Hume became an infidel only because he studied Locke, and not in spite of such study, is wholly untrue. The subtile and wary skeptic, whose enterprise was not to build, but to destroy, — who intended to con-

fute the philosophers on their own ground, founded his reasonings on what was the popular philosophy of his day. He borrowed his principles from the "Essay on the Human Understanding," just as he would have borrowed them, if he had lived in our times, from the speculations of Kant and Cousin. A skeptic by nature and temperament, and not by education or by consequence of opinions imbibed from others, his writings were intended to be, not a continuation or a developement of Locke's philosophy, but a refutation of it. He was not half so much indebted to his English predecessor, as Spinoza was to Descartes; but who thinks of charging upon the father of French philosophy the atheism or pantheism of the infidel Jew?

But we protest against mingling the doctrines of theology with any metaphysical speculations, — against identifying the cause of religious truth with the defence of any human system. It matters not whether Locke or Descartes, Spinoza or Kant, Cousin or Schelling, be the individual selected, through whose theories we are to attack, defend, or modify man's faith in things which are not of this world. The mixture is of two incongruous things, and nothing can result from it but a bastard compound, which will have all the defects, but none of the excellences, of either ingredient. In calling for a separation, nothing more is claimed for theology, than is granted by universal consent to the other sciences. Why is the theologian only to be followed with the constant accusation of being deluded by the sensual system, when he simply opens his eyes upon the universe around him, and reasons upon the information afforded by the senses? Why not accuse the naturalist, the astronomer, the artist of the same thing? These provinces of science are kept as distinct as possible from theory and pure speculation, and are made to consist of observed facts, and immediate deductions from those facts. Metaphysical systems are contrived from time to time, with a view to cover the whole field of knowledge; but the authors of them do not attempt directly to change the methods, modify the principles, or do away with the results of the inductive sciences. They are known to carry with them the habits of mind peculiar to their profession, — what Bacon expressly calls, "the smoke and tarnish of the furnace"; the tendency to generalize rapidly, to make sweeping innovations, to form new and entire theories, unchecked

by the presence of determinate and admitted facts, which in other branches of knowledge oppose an effectual barrier to the license of innovation and system-making. Theology has its facts, also, the most real and momentous of all. The beacon light of religious truth burns clear and steadily in its fixed and elevated position; while the *ignes fatui* of philosophical speculation are glancing about through brake, morass, and thicket, too often indicating the presence of *miasmata* from swamps, or poisonous exhalations from graveyards.

Those who talk so much of the *philosophy of religion*, and of the necessity that it should keep pace with the constant advancement of the human mind, either use words without any meaning attached to them, or else they confound two perfectly distinct things, — religious progress in the individual soul, and the improvement of theology as a science. The former is possible to an unlimited extent. The whole of human life is a probation, the law of which is progress. But the only rational conception of Christian Theology is that of something more fixed and durable than the everlasting hills. The great truth of the being of a God, the great law of the Scriptures, lie there as standards, as ultimate points, beyond which there is no advancement, and from which there is no appeal. An individual may come to have a more perfect knowledge of the relations which connect him to the Deity; though even here the improvement is rather of the heart, than of the intellect. But there are no discoveries to be made respecting the Divine nature, in the same sense as we speak of discoveries in human science. "Who can by searching find out God? Or who can understand the Almighty to perfection?" We can take away the conception of a God, and substitute an abstract idea, or a block of wood, — it matters not which, — in its place; but we cannot amend or enlarge that conception, as it exists in a mind of ordinary powers and cultivation. There is no progress possible beyond monotheism, just as there was a progress from Fetichism to polytheism, and from that to the true doctrine of one God.

In like manner, the Scriptures form an ultimate tribunal in Christian Theology. Questions about their interpretation may arise, but the sense, when ascertained, is admitted to be absolute and decisive. Some persons may reject their authority; they may make the same discovery as Tindal, the English Deist, that Christianity is "as old as the creation."

But it does not follow from such a discovery, that they have made any progress in theology ; they have simply ceased to be Christians. To unite theology with metaphysics is to break away from the two great anchors of religious faith, and then to drift about at random with a science, that acknowledges no restraint, has no fixed principles, and has never found a stay or a resting-place. Not all the authority ascribed to intuitive conceptions not all the pride of demonstrative reasoning founded upon them, will be sufficient to check the frequency of errors and fluctuations, or to afford a fixed basis for future inquiry. The subject of investigation is too vast, the method of procedure too ill-determined, the idea of the results to be gained is too vague, to allow us to hope, that speculative philosophy will ever advance with a firmer step, or to a better purpose, than it has done through all past time. In the future as in the past, metaphysical demonstrations will be found to prove one thing with a Descartes, and directly the opposite thing with a Kant. The attempt is equally absurd and impious to break down the landmarks of religious faith, and to involve the dearest hopes of mankind in the uncertain and shifting fortunes of such an enterprise.

Some persons are not content with the proposed union between the two subjects of contemplation, but claim entire supremacy for human science. According to their theory, there are many stages of progress for the human intellect, and men pass on from religion to philosophy, as they do from barbarism to civilization. The spontaneous but rude developement of the religious principle is followed by the more vigorous and sure growth of reflection, and philosophy becomes "the highest and last developement of human nature, the final accomplishment of human thought." But not to appear too presumptuous, not to shock the feelings of mankind too much, philosophy is represented as tolerant and liberal ; as superseding religion, it is true, in the minds of the cultivated and reflecting classes, but continuing to respect it, as an imperfect likeness of itself, in the bulk of mankind. These views may be best illustrated by a quotation from Cousin, in whose lectures they are ably and eloquently set forth. The extract is a choice one, and we commend it to the particular attention of the Christian admirers of the great Eclectic.

"Philosophy, in the great body of the people, exists under

the primitive, profoundly impressive, and venerable form of religion and of worship. Christianity is the philosophy of the people. He who now addresses you sprang from the people and from Christianity ; and I trust you will always recognise this, in my profound and tender respect for all that is of the people and of Christianity. Philosophy is patient ; she knows what was the course of events in former generations, and she is full of confidence in the future ; happy, in seeing the great bulk of mankind in the arms of Christianity, *she offers*, WITH MODEST KINDNESS, *her hand to Christianity, to assist her in ascending to a yet loftier elevation.*" *

Admirable condescension ! M. Cousin stands forth as the self-appointed representative of all philosophy, and kindly *patronizes* Christianity. But we must save our feelings by speaking in a straight-forward way. If the absurdity and egregious self-conceit, which are so conspicuous in this passage, did not throw a strong light on the real value and probable influence of this writer's speculations, it might be necessary to call attention to their infidel character. But they may now be left to find their own level. The cause of religious truth has nothing to fear or to hope from such patrons, or from such assailants.

In France, the popularity of Cousin's philosophy has superseded that of Condillac, and many imagine, that under its influence, a reaction has taken place in favor of religion, against the materialism and the infidelity of the last age. Even if we were ignorant of the facts, there would be good reason to suspect the reality, and the pure character, of a religious movement produced by such a cause, and conducted by such a guide. "*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis.*" But we are able to offer some direct testimony respecting the true nature of this religious reaction. A recent number of the *Journal des Débats*, the ablest and most influential newspaper in France, contains an interesting letter from one of the editors to the Bishop of Chartres, in reply to a severe censure which that prelate had passed upon an article on the state of the French church. From this letter, dated the 20th of December last, we translate a few paragraphs, which were written, it is true, for the meridian of Paris ; but they may not be wholly inapplicable further west.

* " Elle se contente de lui tendre doucement la main, et de l'aider à s'élever plus haut encore. (*Attention marquée dans l'auditoire.*) " — *Cours de l'Histoire de la Philosophie : Deuxième Leçon.*

"For some years past, we have heard much talk about the religious reaction. It is proclaimed from the house-tops; it is announced in all the pulpits, and in all the books. But when we begin to search after this strange phenomenon, what do we find? We enter pretty little churches, with gilded ceilings, well warmed and carpeted, where one finds himself too comfortably placed on earth to be able to spend a thought on heaven. We hear the *Credo* sung with a waltz accompaniment, and dancing tunes played at the elevation of the Host. If a sermon is preached, the speaker feels obliged to disguise the objects of worship before presenting them to us, — to cover them up under all the frippery required by the taste of the age; and how can it be expected, that preachers should prove the divine character of that, which they themselves are striving to render common and secular. Think you, that they talk to us about the Gospel, and about Christian morals? No; no such thing. They preach about Pythagoras, and Epicurus, and Spinoza; or they have something to say about the invasion of the Goths, borrowing prosy remarks from writers on the philosophy of history. We go away from the church asking ourselves, what we have to do with Epicurus, and whether this is what is meant by a religious reaction.

"We find a new class of Christians springing up around us in the fashionable and literary world, who make a parade of their melancholy and their religious faith in halting verses, and prate about the Bhagavad Gita and the Zendavista, and the other topics of those lectures on philosophy, which are designed for people who wish to talk about every thing in general and nothing in particular. And these insipid persons, incapable alike of skepticism or belief, are constantly wearying us with harangues about the religious reaction.

"You will not suspect me, Sir, of the presumption and bad taste of wishing to read the clergy a lecture on theology. I do but give you the impression of those who live in this secular world, when I say, that perhaps the church was never in a more dangerous situation than it is at present. The greatest proof of the strength of Catholicism is, that it is able to resist, not an assault, not a war, but the peace, the conciliatory measures, the universal toleration, with which it is surrounded. We ask only for faith of one kind or another; we accept every thing, and we would invent a religion, rather than be without one altogether. It behoves the members of the church to organize and turn to profit this necessity of believing something, which is now appearing amongst us, and, above all, to arrest it in its almost irresistible inclination towards mysticism.

"The priests have not understood this condition of things.

They have mistaken this readiness to accept any faith for a religious reaction. The misfortune of Christianity is, that they no longer fight against it; it is embalmed, it is sanctified; it is canonized like a saint. But you know better than I, Sir, that saints are only canonized after their death. It is dangerous to allow one's self to be made a relic of. The priests have gone to sleep, trusting to this perfidious calm. Having hardly escaped from the terrible attack of Voltaire, they hailed what was only disgust and weariness at materialism as a disposition to return to religion. In their eyes, every one who was a spiritualist became a religious man; every one who repudiated the *Encyclopédie*, became a Christian. In their eagerness to rescue all minds from the philosophy of the last century, they accepted professions of faith, without being at all rigid in respect to rites and doctrines. They opened the gates to religious liberalism. They made a breach, and through this breach have entered pell-mell, pietism, sentimentalism, symbolism, and all sorts of Germanism. They no longer preach upon morals and doctrines, but upon Christian philosophy, and all kinds of historical and æsthetical generalities. At the present time, we want nothing better than religious belief; but, if we must accept, as articles of faith, all that we hear from the pulpit, and as words of the Gospel, all the pitiable rhapsodies and contemptible contests about words, which are published by those who call themselves your organs, no wonder that our faith wavers and our hearts incline to doubt."

This is a lively picture of the confusion that results, when an erratic speculative philosophy assumes the name and garb of religion, without any of its spirit, and substitutes its own vague and unmeaning generalities in place of the vital truths of Natural Theology, and the doctrines of the Gospel. It remains to be seen, whether the study of the same writers and the prevalence of the same tastes will ever produce a counterpart to this state of things on our side of the Atlantic. One security against such an evil consists in the fact, that the antecedent circumstances in the two cases are different. We are not recovering from the prolonged torpor of materialism and infidelity, in order to be thrown by a reaction into the wilds of a mystical philosophy, and a heated, vague, and unsettled faith. It is an idle task to preach against sensualism and the empirical philosophy to the descendants of the Puritans; it is merely apeing the manners and the sentiments of a few French declaimers, whose words have no

applicability or meaning for the western world. There are no admirers of Condillac among us ; and, if there are a few imitators of the Baron d'Holbach, their errors were not caused by the prevalence of one system of philosophy, nor will they be converted by the introduction of another. Metaphysical arguments will not cure that blindness and insensibility of heart and intellect, of which ignorance and heedlessness are the primary and the sustaining causes. Instead of calling upon such men to close their eyes and ears, and distrust the information given by their senses, for fear they should be deluded by empiricism, or some other philosophical bugbear, rather bid them open their minds and hearts to the sights and sounds of creation, and hear and see everywhere proofs of the being of a God. Preach the Gospel to them instead of metaphysical speculations, — remembering the pregnant aphorism of Bacon ; "As to seek philosophy in divinity is to seek the dead amongst the living, so to seek divinity in philosophy is to seek the living amongst the dead."

Art. VI. — *Monaldi : a Tale.* Boston : Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1841. 12mo. pp. 253.

Though this little volume bears no author's name on its title-page, it is understood to be from the pen of Washington Allston. This great artist is a poet as well as painter ; and, were it not for his overshadowing fame as the foremost painter of his age, he would unquestionably have been renowned as one of our most graceful and imaginative poets. The collection of poems, published by him many years ago, and now out of print, shows the invention, and fancy, and curious felicity of expression, that mark the true son of song ; and, had Mr. Allston followed out the poetical career, he would most certainly have reached, ere this, the same eminence as a writer, to which his genius has borne him in art.

We feel, as Americans, no small pride in Mr. Allston's genius and fame. It is part and parcel, and no small part, of our national reputation. He is too much absorbed in the love of his art, and too much occupied with the lovely and immortal creations of his genius, to make himself

the rival of other artists, or the head of any school. No morbid anxieties for his own fame intrude into the serene heaven of invention, in which his calm spirit ever moves. Quietly and surely he works on, finishing every year some exquisite picture, which alone would be enough to carry his name to other generations, as one of the most illustrious artists of the present. He is known and reverenced by all the rising artists of his country, and envied by none. Happy the man of genius, whose rare good fortune it is, not merely to outdo all his contemporaries in the beauty and excellence of his works, but to pass through a long career without feeling a breath of envy, or a lisp of reproach, upon his fair fame!

Mr. Allston's genius is understood as well, perhaps better, abroad. Many of his best pictures were painted in England. In Italy his abilities were fully appreciated by the young artists, who were his contemporaries in the Eternal City, and some of whom stand now at the head of the rising school of German art. One of the most distinguished critics of art in Germany, Karl Platner, has recently declared, that Mr. Allston approaches, in coloring, nearer the old masters of the best ages in Italian art, than any other modern painter. This opinion is expressed in the chapter on modern art in Rome, in the great work on Rome, published by the accomplished Prussian minister, Karl Bunsen, the successor of Niebuhr the historian; and, when we reflect that the opinion was formed upon the earlier works of Mr. Allston, — the splendid productions of his matured genius never having been seen by the German critic, — we cannot help regarding it as a most gratifying tribute to the surpassing excellence of Mr. Allston's style. As he himself said on a late occasion of the prophetic raven, Platner only spoke for posterity when he uttered that memorable judgment. The moment Mr. Allston's name is written in the great book of the departed, — God grant it may be many years first! — that moment his name will be taken out of the catalogue of painters belonging to the present age; the distinctions of time will be forgotten; and he will be placed side by side with the great brotherhood who have made the name of Italy illustrious as the home of the arts through all time. His works will be sought out and purchased at enormous prices, by curious collectors, and pilgrimages will be made by lovers and students of painting, to spots hallowed by the presence of some masterpiece of his genius.

But it is not our purpose, in the present paper, to speak at any length of Mr. Allston, the painter. He comes before us now in the new character of a prose writer. No little curiosity was felt by the public, when it was announced that Allston, the poet and painter, was on the point of appearing as a novelist; and some anxiety was mingled with the curiosity, that he might not fail in this untried career. At length the book appeared, after having been laid aside more than twenty years, — more than double the time prescribed by the respectable but neglected old saw of Horace. It was written, it seems, for a periodical work, edited by a friend of the artist, — "The Idle Man" of Mr. Dana, we presume, — a work which manifested great genius and invention, but, not striking the public taste, was not well supported, and was discontinued by the editor before Mr. Allston's Tale could be published. The manuscript was then thrown aside, and slept, like Rip Van Winkle, undisturbed more than twenty years.

The story of Monaldi turns upon jealousy. This passion is the least respectable of all the methods taken by foolish men to make themselves miserable. We have never had a strong liking for tales of distress, founded upon jealousy. From that blackamoor Othello down, we never read tale, novel, or play, where this was the mainspring of the plot, without feeling that a grain of common-sense would have put an end to the trouble, or, rather, would have prevented the trouble altogether. When the silly scoundrel smothers Desdemona, we have no feeling of pity for him as the victim of another's villany, but we despise him for his weakness, and hate him for his cruelty, and could see him hanged with perfect complacency. Something like this feeling, we confess, mingles with our pleasure, in reading Monaldi. It seems as if a man of his genius and exquisite moral character, — united to a woman whose every thought was purity, whose every act one of the most delicate and tender love for him, and between whom and himself existed the most intimate blending of taste and soul, — could never be brought, by any entanglement of devilish arts, to believe his wife a polluted hypocrite, and to aim the assassin's dagger at her defenceless bosom.

But such anomalies doubtless exist in nature. The warmth of the Italian temperament, and the unfortunate peculiarities

that have existed in times past in Italian society, probably render them more frequent there, than in our colder clime. To our less lively imaginations, the changes of character in such a story as Monaldi, seem, at first, too abrupt and startling. It appears an impossibility, that such a moral hurricane can spring up in a moment, and turn to a dreary desert, regions where all was but just now so smiling and serene. It shocks us to think, that the fierce bolt of human passions can, with the force and speed of lightning, blast and sear a happiness that was so deeply rooted, so blooming, and so full of delicious promise but a moment before. And yet it may be so. At any rate, upon a second and third reading of Monaldi, the improbability diminishes, and nearly disappears. At first we hurry over the pages, swept away by an irresistible interest in the fortunes of the personages with whom we sympathize so deeply. Many characteristic circumstances we pass by unnoticed ; many minute but important touches fail to have their due effect, until our curiosity is satisfied by a hasty reading, and we have time to turn back and dwell longer upon the details, than we were able to do at first.

Mr. Allston has wrought into this tale materials enough for two or three common novels ; and we are not sure that he would not have done better to draw out the varied passions of the story at greater length ; to paint with greater minuteness, and in a fuller style, the scenes and events through which his characters are made to pass ; to soften somewhat the suddenness of the transitions, and thus to explain and justify, more completely than he has done, the overwhelming catastrophe, in which virtue, genius, beauty, and fame are swallowed up. Many hints and intimations, which the observing reader notices in a second perusal, do this for the few ; but the great mass of readers, who never take up a book but once, will remain discontented with the manner in which the destinies of Monaldi and Rosalia Landi are wrought out. The great artist, studying as he does the effects of particular moments,—working up striking historical or tragic crises, and trusting to the imagination of the spectator to supply what goes before or follows ; presenting, as the very conditions and materials of his art force him to do, the passions, attitudes, groups, of a single second only to the senses, —is apt to apply the same methods, and use the same principles, when he passes from art to literature, from the canvass

or the marble to the printed page. Art and literature, it is true, rest upon the same essential principles of taste, upon the same deep and everlasting foundations of nature. But they differ in methods and materials. The artist has the great advantage of addressing himself to the mind and heart through the senses ; of presenting to the spectator forms, that all but live, and move, and breathe ; that speak in feature, look, and action, of the passions which their author meant to impress upon them. The poet, and the novelist, on the contrary, have to trust to the more vague and uncertain medium of words, phrases, sounds. To affect a reader, is a subtler and perhaps more difficult process, than to move the feelings of a spectator. The impressions made by words must, from the very nature of the case, be less defined and distinct, than those made by forms, attitudes, action, color. But then the writer has an excellent set-off to this superiority of the artist, in the interest of continued narrative. He can gradually excite our sympathy, by putting forward, in a striking light, event after event, distress after distress, and perplexity after perplexity. He can work us up to an agony of hope or fear, by the skilful arrangement of a thousand details scattered along a succession of passionate and agitating moments ; and he can round off the fictitious life he has created, by letting the passions sink to repose in the consciousness that poetic justice has been dealt among those whose joys and woes, whose virtues and crimes, have by turns soothed and roused the reader's mind.

In the conduct of his story, we think we see that Mr. Allston has been true to the artist's character. And though, as we have said before, hints and intimations are sufficiently thrown in to guide the careful reader to the right conclusion, yet the intervals between the great moments are not sufficiently filled out for a novel. We have no doubt this passionate story exists in his mind in the form of a series of pictures ; at least it would afford half a dozen glorious subjects for his pencil. It is not necessary, at this time, to give an analysis of the plot. Most readers are familiar with it long before this. A few remarks of a general nature, and some illustrative extracts, will embrace all that is requisite to be said at present.

We perceive the artist, not only in the respects we have above alluded to, but in the able delineation and skilful contrast of characters. The two leading personages, Maldura and

Monaldi, are of equal excellence, and are brought out with the greater effect by being set off against each other with such admirable judgment. They are traced from the first traits and impulses of schoolboy days, to the finished characters of the matured men ; and we cannot help admiring the delicate and subtile manner in which the diverging motives and influences, under which the two are gradually formed to such perfect opposites, are from time to time brought to light. How nobly is the mind of the true artist drawn in the generous Monaldi. Unconsciously the writer sketched the lovely picture from himself. In all, except the whirlwind passions roused by a villain's arts, we recognise the well-known and venerated genius, whose presence among us is a benediction. With what vigor are the fearful consequences of boundless and irregular literary ambition portrayed in the gloomy character and horrible destiny of Maldura. The lesson is a startling but a necessary one. Literary ambition, the desire, not to excel for the sake of excellence, and through an unmixed and unselfish love of letters, is one of the most baneful passions that can agitate the breast of man. What envyings and backbitings, what uncharitable construction of motives, and what malice of disparaging innuendo, have in all ages disgraced the conversations of literary men, too morbidly alive to what they are pleased to call their literary fame, to bear with patience the praises bestowed upon another, or to enjoy freely and heartily the intellectual delights which literary intercourse lays open before them. The lesson was never more forcibly taught than by the promising youth ending in the blasted manhood ; the great abilities turned to the most wretched purposes ; the apparent friendship sinking into the most revolting crime, and then into bitter but unavailing repentance, — that mark the unhappy career of Maldura.

The sensual villain, Count Fialto, is a remarkable and well-drawn figure, necessary to the purposes of the plot, and strongly contrasting with the intellectual profligacy of his employer. But the character which sheds a divine charm over the dark picture, and harmonizes all its terrible elements into a serene and heavenly beauty, is that of Rosalia Landi. The delineation of a perfect woman with natural traits, without exaggeration ; the blending of all these ingredients of character in just proportion ; the gentleness without weakness, and the firmness free from masculine hardness ; the soft com-

pliance joined to unbending love of truth and honor ; which make up the admirable woman in real life ; this portraiture is, we are inclined to think, the rarest and most difficult achievement of the writer's art. But rare and difficult as it is, Mr. Allston has achieved the task in his Rosalia Landi. From the dawning conception to the last touches of execution, all is beautiful, attractive, and harmonious in this most lovely creation ; and we feel at the close, that the author's pencil would be fitly employed to illustrate this triumph of his pen.

We have often before pored over Allston's pages to admire the grace and delicacy of his English poetical style. This book is equally remarkable for its rich and harmonious prose. The nice selection of epithets, the faultless arrangement of the members of the sentences, and the rhythmical cadence to which thought and expression seem to move united, combine to make it one of the most finished works in American literature. We fall here and there upon a most delicately wrought picture of some natural scene, which betrays the artist's eye and hand ; then a deep moral reflection, speaking a varied experience and observation of life, arrests our attention and awakens a train of solemn thought ; then a maxim of art, worthy to be laid up among the treasures of memory, is modestly put forth, but bears under its simple expression the wisdom of studious and thoughtful years. Such, in our judgment, is the character of this little volume by our great artist ; it is a work of high genius, of rare beauty, and of a moral purity and religious elevation, which distinguish it from most literary works of the age. We shall now illustrate our remarks by a few short extracts. We begin with the following sketch of Monaldi.

"The profession which Monaldi had chosen for the future occupation of his life was that of a painter ; to which, however, he could not be said to have come wholly unprepared. The slight sketch just given of him will show that the most important part, the mind of a painter, he already possessed ; the nature of his amusements (in which, some one has well observed, men are generally most in earnest,) having unconsciously disciplined his mind for this pursuit. He had looked at Nature with the eye of a lover ; none of her minutest beauties had escaped him, and all that were stirring to a sensitive heart and a romantic imagination were treasured up in his memory, as themes of delightful musing in her absence : and they came to him in those moments with that never-failing

freshness and life which love can best give to the absent. But the skill and the hand of an artist were still to be acquired.

"But perseverance, if not a mark of genius, is at least one of its practical adjuncts; and Monaldi possessed it. Indeed, there is but one mode of making endurable the perpetual craving of any master-passion, — the continually laboring to satisfy it. And, so it be innocent, how sweet the reward! giving health to the mind without the sense of toil. This Monaldi enjoyed; for he never felt that he had been toiling, even when the dawn, as it often happened, broke in upon his labors.

"Without going more into detail, in a very few years Monaldi was universally acknowledged to be the first painter in Italy. His merit, however, was not merely comparative. He differed from his contemporaries no less in kind than in degree. If he held any thing in common with others, it was with those of ages past, — with the mighty dead of the fifteenth century; from them he had learned the language of his art, but his thoughts, and their turn of expression, were his own. His originality, therefore, was felt by all; and his country hailed him as one coming, in the spirit of Raffaelle, to revive by his genius her ancient glory.

"It is not, however, to be supposed, that the claims of the new style were allowed at once, since it required not only the acquisition of a new taste, but the abandoning an old one. In what is called a critical age, which is generally that which follows the age of production, it is rarely that an original author is well received at once. There are two classes of opponents, which he is almost sure to encounter: the one consists of those who, without feeling or imagination, are yet ambitious of the reputation of critics; who set out with some theory, either ready made to their hands and purely traditional, or else *reasoned out* by themselves from some plausible dogma, which they dignify with the name of philosophy. As these criticize for *distinction*, every work of art becomes to them, of course, a personal affair, which they accordingly approach either as patrons or enemies; and woe to the poor artist who shall have had the hardihood to think for himself. In the other class is comprised the well-meaning multitude, who, having no pretensions of their own, are easily awed by authority; and, afraid to give way to their natural feeling, receive without distrust the more confident dicta of these self-created arbiters. Perhaps at no time was the effect of this peculiar usurpation more sadly illustrated than in the prescriptive commonplace which distinguished the period of which we speak. The first appearance of Monaldi was consequently met by an opposition proportioned to the degree of his departure from the current opin-

ions. But as his good sense had restrained him from venturing before the public until by long and patient study he had felt himself entitled to take the rank of a master, he bore the attacks of his assailants with the equanimity of one who well knew that the ground he stood upon was not the quicksand of self-love. Besides, he had no vanity to be wounded, and the folly of their criticisms he disdained to notice, leaving it to time to establish his claims. Nor was this wise forbearance long unrewarded, for it is the nature of truth, sooner or later, to command recognition ; some kindred mind will at last respond to it ; and there is no true response that is not given in love ; hence the lover-like enthusiasm with which it is hailed, and dwelt upon, until the echo of like minds spreads it abroad, to be finally received by the many as a matter of faith. It was so with Monaldi." — pp. 24 – 27.

By way of contrast to the preceding, we give the description of the effect upon Maldura of his first literary disappointment.

"Maldura's heart stiffened within him, but his pride controlled him, and he masked his thoughts with something like composure. Yet he dared not trust himself to speak, but stood looking at Piccini, as if waiting for him to go on. 'I believe that 's all,' said the Count, carelessly twirling his hat, and rising to take leave.

"Maldura roused himself, and, making an effort, said, 'No, Sir, there is one person whom you have only named, — Alfieri ! what did he say ?'

"'Nothing !' Piccini pronounced this word with a graver tone than usual ; it was his fiercest bolt, and he knew that a show of feeling would send it home. Then, after pausing a moment, he hurried out of the room.

"Maldura sunk back in his chair, and groaned in the bitterness of his spirit. 'As for the wretches who make a trade of sarcasm, and whose petty self-interest would fatten on the misfortunes of a rival, I can despise them ; but Alfieri, — the manly, just Alfieri, — to see me thus mangled, torn piece-meal before his eyes, and say *nothing !* Am I then beneath his praise ? Could he not find one little spark of genius in me to kindle up his own, and consume my base assassins ? No, — he saw them pounce upon and embowel me, and yet said nothing.'

"Maldura closed his eyes to shut out the light of day ; but neither their lids, nor the darkness of night could shut out from his mind the hateful forms of his revilers. He saw them in their assemblies, on the Corso, in the coffee-houses, knotted

together like fiends, and making infernal mirth with the shreds and scraps of his verses, while the vulgar rabble, quitting their games of domino, and grinning around, showed themselves but too happy to have chanced there at the sport. In fine, there are no visions of mortified ambition which did not rise up before him. But they did not subdue his pride. Yet it was near a week before he could collect sufficient courage to stir abroad ; nor did he then venture till he had well settled the course he meant to pursue, namely, to treat all his acquaintance still with civility ; to appear as little concerned about his failure as possible, well knowing that in proportion to his dejection would be the triumph of his enemies ; but to accept no favor, and especially to have no *friend ;* — a resolution which showed the true character of the man, who could not endure even kindness, unless offered as incense to his pride.

" This artificial carriage had the desired effect. It silenced the flippant, and almost disarmed the malignant ; while those of kinder natures saw in it only additional motives for respect; indeed there were some even generous enough to think better of his genius for the good temper with which he seemed to bear his disappointment. In short, so quietly did he pass it off, that after a few months no one thought, or appeared to think, of Maldura as an unsuccessful author." — pp. 37 – 39.

Maldura, after this disappointment, publishes a satire which is successful ; but, not content with this, he tries his hand at a tragedy, the cold reception of which puts the finishing touch to his character.

" This was an unlooked-for blow ; and he sat for near an hour gazing upon the manager's letter, as if endeavouring to recall, he knew not what ; for its purport was gone ere hardly known. But his recollection soon returned. Better had it not, than so to make visible the utter desolation within him, — to show him a mind without home or object ; for he could look neither back nor forward. If he looked to the future, in place of the splendid visions that once rose like a mirage, he beheld a desert ; if he turned to the past, his laborious realities, once seeming so gorgeous, now left without purpose, only cumbered the ground with their heavy ruins.

" In this hopeless state, however, there was one comforter which never deserted him, — his indomitable pride ; it was this sustained him. Had a shadow of self-distrust but crossed Maldura for a moment, it might have darkened to insanity ; but no doubts of his genius had ever entered his mind ; he was therefore an ill-used man, and he hated the world which had thus withheld his just rights. His only solace now, was in the wretched resource of the misanthrope, in that childish

revenge, which, in the folly of his anger, he imagines himself taking on the world, by foregoing its kindnesses ; for there is small difference between a thorough misanthrope and a sullen child ; indeed their *illogical* wrath generally takes the same course in both, namely, to retort an injury by spiting themselves. For the full indulgence of this miserable temper, he retired to an unfrequented part of the city, and, rarely venturing out except at night, it was generally concluded that he had quitted Rome, — where he was soon forgotten."—pp. 54, 55.

The following paragraph is one of those passages in which there is no mistaking the artist's hand.

"It was after a morning of more than usual depression and concern on his account, that Monaldi one day called on his unhappy friend. Maldura's apathy seemed for the moment overcome ; and he could not help expressing surprise at such an unwonted visit ; for it was scarcely past mid-day, and he knew that nothing short of necessity could tempt the devoted artist to leave his studio at that hour. Monaldi simply replied, that he had felt indisposed to work ; and he drew a chair to a window. The apartment, being in an upper story, and the house somewhat elevated, commanded an extensive view of the southern portion of the city, overlooking the Campo Vaccino, once the ancient Forum, with its surrounding ruins, and taking in a part of the Coliseum. The air was hot and close, and there was a thin, yellow haze over the distance like that which precedes the scirocco, but the nearer objects were clear and distinct, and so bright that the eye could hardly rest on them without quivering, especially on the modern buildings, with their huge sweep of whited walls, and their red-tiled roofs, that lay burning in the sun, while the sharp, black shadows, which here and there seemed to indent the dazzling masses, might almost have been fancied the cinder-tracks of his fire. The streets of Rome, at no time very noisy, are for nothing more remarkable than, during the summer months, for their noontide stillness, the meridian heat being frequently so intense as to stop all business, driving every thing within doors, with the proverbial exception of dogs and strangers. But even these might scarcely have withstood the present scorching atmosphere. It was now high noon, and the few straggling vine-dressers that were wont to stir in this secluded quarter had already been driven under shelter ; not a vestige of life was to be seen, not a bird on the wing, and so deep was the stillness that a solitary foot-fall might have filled the whole air ; neither was this stillness lessened by the presence of the two friends, — for nothing so deepens silence as man at rest ; they

had both sat mutely gazing from the window, and apparently unconscious of the lapse of time, till the bell of a neighbouring church warned them of it."—pp. 63–65.

And the following is one of those unconsciously instructive passages with which the book abounds.

"He 'accepted the commission,' he said, 'not with the arrogant hope of producing a rival to the picture of Raffaelle, but in grateful compliance with the wishes of his patron.' Besides, with a just reverence for his art, he looked upon all competition as unworthy a true artist; nay, he even doubted whether any one could command the power of his own genius whilst his mind was under the influence of so vulgar a motive. 'For what,' he would say, 'is that which you call my genius, but the love and perception of *excellence*,—the twin power that incites and directs to successful production? which can never coexist with the desire to diminish, or even to contend with, that in another. It would be rather self-love, than a true love of art, did I value it less in Raffaelle than in myself.' He might have added another reason: that competition implying comparison, and comparison a difference only of *degree*, could not *really* exist between men of genius; since the individualizing power by which we recognise genius, or the originating faculty, must necessarily mark their several productions by a difference in *kind*. But he needed not this deduction of the understanding; his own lofty impulses placed him on surer ground."—p. 76.

Our hero thus makes his first entrance into the house of Rosalia Landi and her father; and, as it is a moment of the greatest importance to the artist and the lovely girl, we may as well give the whole scene.

"Having accepted the commission, however, it was necessary that he should see the picture which he was expected to equal; he accordingly waited on the gentleman to whose collection it belonged, and was shown into his gallery. Though Monaldi had heard much of this collection, he found that report had for once fallen far short of the truth; and the pleasure of such a surprise to him may be imagined by those who have witnessed the effect of unexpected excellence on a man of genius.

"He had expected to see only a fine Raffaelle; but he now found himself surrounded by the master spirits of Rome and Venice: they seemed to bewilder him with delight, and he was wandering from one to another, as if uncertain where to

rest, when, passing a door at the end of the gallery, his eyes fell on an object to which every other immediately gave place. It was the form of a young female who was leaning, or rather bending, over the back of a chair, and reading. At first he saw only its general loveliness, and he gazed on it as on a more beautiful picture, till a slight movement suddenly gave it a new character, — it was the quickening grace that gives life to symmetry. There is a charm in life which no pencil can reach, — it thrilled him. But when he caught a glimpse of the half-averted face, the pearly forehead, gleaming through clusters of black, glossy hair, — the lustrous, intellectual line beneath, just seen through the half-closed eyelids, — the tremulously-parted lips, and the almost visible soul that seemed to rush from them upon the page before her, — even the wonders of his art appeared like idle mockeries. The eyes of the reader now turned upon him. Still he continued to gaze, and to give way to his new and undefined emotions, till the thought of his intrusion suddenly crossed him, and his face crimsoned. How far the embarrassment may have been shared by Rosalia Landi (for she it was) was hardly known to herself, as the entrance of her father immediately restored her to her usual self-possession.

"'It gives us no common pleasure, signor Monaldi,' said the Advocate, as he presented him to his daughter, 'that we have this opportunity to make some acknowledgment for the many happy hours we owe to you. I may add, that I use the epithet in no indefinite sense ; for when is the mind more innocent than while it loses itself in a pure work of genius ? — and mere freedom from evil should be happiness : but your art effects more, — it unites innocence with pleasure.'

"'We owe signor Monaldi much indeed,' said Rosalia, bowing.

"Monaldi had none of that spurious modesty which affects to shrink from praise when conscious of deserving it ; yet he could make no reply.

"Without noticing his silence, Landi observed, that perhaps he ought to apologize for the length of his absence. 'And yet,' he added, turning to the pictures, 'I cannot honestly say that I regret it, since it has left signor Monaldi more at liberty to form a fair opinion ; for I am connoisseur enough to know that the first impression of a picture is seldom aided by words, — especially those of a fond collector. The pictures, I doubt not, have fared all the better without me.'

"They now stood before the Raffaelle, and the Advocate waited for several minutes for his visiter to speak ; but Monaldi's thoughts had no connexion with his senses ; he saw

nothing, though his eyes were apparently fixed on the picture, but the beautiful vision that still possessed his imagination.

"'Perhaps report may have overrated it,' at length said Landi, in something like a tone of disappointment.

"'Or probably,' added Rosalia, observing the blankness of his countenance, 'our favorite Madonna may not be one with signor Monaldi.'

"'It is *your* favorite then?' said Monaldi, with a sudden change of expression. He had no time to think of the abruptness of this question before Rosalia replied, —

"'And we had hoped too of yours; for it is natural to wish our opinions confirmed by those who have a right to direct them.'

"'Nay,' said Monaldi, 'Raffaelle is one whom criticism can affect but little either way. He speaks to the heart, a part of us that never mistakes a meaning; and they who have one to understand should ask nothing in liking him but the pleasure of sympathy.'

"'And yet there are many technical beauties,' said the Advocate, 'which an unpractised eye needs to have pointed out.'

"'Yes, — and faults too,' answered Monaldi; 'but his execution makes only a small part of that by which he affects us. But had he even the color of Titian, or the magic chiaroscuro of Correggio, they would scarcely add to that sentient spirit with which our own communes. I have certainly seen more beautiful faces; we sometimes meet them in nature, — faces to look at, and with pleasure, — but not to think of like this. Besides, Raffaelle does more than make us think of him; he makes us forget his deficiencies, — or rather, supply them.'

"'I think I understand you, — when the heart is touched, but a hint is enough,' said Rosalia.

"'Ay,' said the Advocate, smiling, ''t is with pictures as with life; only bribe that invisible *finisher* and we are sure to reach perfection. However, since there is no other human way to perfection of any kind, I do not see that it is unwise to allow the illusion, — which certainly elevates us while it lasts; for we cannot have a sense of the perfect, though imaginary, while we admit ignoble thoughts.'

"'This is a great admission for you, Sir,' said Rosalia; ''t is the best apology for romance I have heard.'

"'Is it? Well, child, then I have been romantic myself without knowing it. But the picture before us' —

"'I could not forget it if I would,' interrupted Monaldi, with excitement, — 'that single-hearted, that ineffable look of love! yet so pure and passionless, — so like what we may be-

lieve of the love of angels. It seems as if I had never before known the power of my art.'

"As he spoke, his eyes unconsciously wandered to Rosalia. The charm was there; and his art was now as much indebted to the living presence as a little before it had suffered from it.

"'If one may judge from his works,' said Rosalia, 'Raffaelle must have been a very amiable man.'

"'We have no reason to think otherwise,' answered Monaldi. 'He at least *knew how* to be so: if he was not, his self-reproach must have been no small punishment, if at all proportioned to his exquisite perception of moral beauty. But he was all you believe, according to the testimony of his contemporaries, by whom he appears to have been as much beloved as admired.'

"'I could wish,' said Rosalia, 'that tradition had spared us either more or less of the great author of that Prophet;'— they had turned to a cartoon by Michael Angelo. 'They say he was morose; and many affect to find in that the reason why he does not touch their hearts. Yet, I know not how it is, whether he stirs the heart or not, there is *a something* in his works that so lifts one above our present world, or at least, which so raises one above all ordinary emotions, that I never quit the Sistine Chapel without feeling it impossible to believe any charge to his discredit.'

"'Never believe it!' said Monaldi with energy. 'He had too great a soul, — too rapt for an unkind feeling. If he did not often sympathize with those about him, it was because he had but little in common with them. Not that he had less of passion, but more of the intellectual. His heart seems to have been so sublimated by his imagination, that his too refined affections, — I can almost believe, — sought a higher sphere, — even *that* in which the forms of his pencil seem to have had their birth; for they are neither men nor women, — at least like us that walk the earth, — but rather of a race which minds of a high order might call up when they think of the inhabitants of the planet Saturn. Elsewhere, perhaps, this may be jargon, — but not *here*, — I venture to hope.' Rosalia bowed. 'Nay, the eloquent confession I have just heard could not have been made, had not the spell of Michael Angelo been understood as well as felt.'

"'You have assisted me to understand him better,' said Rosalia. 'And, if I do, perhaps I might say, that he makes me think, instead of feel. In other words, the effect is not mere sensation.'

"Monaldi answered her only by a look, but one of such unmingled pleasure, as would have called up a blush, had not a

similar feeling prevented her observing it. He felt as if he had been listening to the echoes of his own mind.

"'Upon my word, Rosalia,' said her father, 'I did not know you were so much of a connoisseur; 't is quite new to me, I assure you.'

"Rosalia now blushed, for the compliment made her sensible of her enthusiasm, which now surprised herself: she could not recollect that she had ever before felt so much excited.

"'Nay, my dear, I am serious, — and I need not say how pleased. How you have escaped the cant of the day I can't guess. 'T is now the fashion to talk of Michael Angelo's extravagance, of his want of truth, and *what not*, — as if truth were only in what we have *seen!* This matter-of-fact philosophy has infected the age. Let the artists look to it! They have already begun to quarrel with the Apollo, — because the skin wants suppleness! But what is that? — a mere mechanical defect. Then they cavil at the form, — those exquisite proportions. And where would be his celestial lightness, his preternatural majesty without them? Signor Monaldi will forgive this strain: perhaps, I should not hold it before an artist.'

"'I should be very sorry to have it believed,' answered Monaldi, 'that any artist could be found, — I mean worthy the name, — who would refuse to be instructed because the lesson does not come from a professor. I, for one, shall always be most happy to become a listener, especially where, from the pledge given, I shall have so just a hope of being enlightened. I am not used to complimenting; and signor Landi will pardon me if I add, that I respect my art too much to affect a deference for any criticism, — come whence it may, — which I know to be unsound; it is founded in truth, and the professor degrades it who palters with its principles.'

"'Perhaps you overrate me,' said the Advocate. 'But, be that as it may, signor Monaldi cannot do me a greater favor than in making me a frequent listener to himself.'

"Monaldi then took leave.

"'So gentle, — yet so commanding!' said Landi, his eyes still resting on the door through which his visiter had passed, — 'even lofty, — yet so wholly free of pretence and affectation, — not an atom of either, but perfectly natural, even when he talked of the people of Saturn. Did you observe how his face brightened then, as if he had been actually familiar with them? I can almost fancy that we have been talking with Raffaelle. He has not disappointed you, I am sure.'

"'No,' replied Rosalia, 'on the contrary ——' She felt provoked with herself that she could say nothing more.

"'I do not know,' added the Advocate, 'that I ever met with a young man who won upon me so rapidly. But 't is an intellectual creature, — rarely to be met with.'" — pp. 77–86.

We must pass over the fairy scenes of married happiness, and come to those over which the clouds of destiny begin to lower. The infernal arts of Maldura have already begun to work, and the first germs of suspicion have been planted in Monaldi's breast, by his instrument, Count Fialto.

"There are few cares which do not yield for a time to the influence of fine music. Monaldi had felt it, and he was returning homeward full of happy thoughts, when, arriving within a few paces of his house, he perceived a person lurking about his gateway. The impulse of the moment determined him to stop; and, being just then under a lamp which hung before the image of a saint, he turned his back towards it, and muffled his face in his cloak. He had scarcely done so when the person passed him. Monaldi was thunder-struck: there could be no mistake, — the light had fallen on the other's face, — it was Fialto.

"There is a little cloud often described by travellers, and well known on the Indian seas, which at first appears like a dark speck in the horizon; as it rises its hue deepens, and its size increases; yet the approach of it is gradual, and the air meanwhile is soft and motionless; but, while the inexperienced mariner is perhaps regarding it as a mere matter of curiosity, his sails unbent, and loosely hanging to the masts, — in the twinkling of an eye, it seems to leap upon the ship, — and, in a moment more, sails, masts, and all, are swept by the board. With like desolation did this little incident smite the heart of Monaldi: he felt as if some sudden calamity had laid his peace in ruins; yet he could give it no distinct shape, nor even comprehend the evil that would follow. He knew not with what, or with whom, to connect Fialto's visit; but that Fialto had been in his house seemed almost beyond doubt; he had not indeed seen him come out of it, — yet why was he hanging about it at this hour? 'But how did this appear to concern himself?' He had scarcely asked the question, when twenty circumstances occurred in answer; but chiefly by the Count's uniform solicitude to avoid him; his confusion when detected gazing at the house; his disappearance from the theatre soon after Monaldi's entrance; his absence during the rest of the evening, though it was a new play; and his sudden reappearance in this place, and at such a time; these were too evident in their bearing to allow of any misapprehension, and Monaldi

was forced to admit that Fialto's purpose, whatever it was, had, in some way or other, relation to himself. There was an obscurity in this conclusion which thickened on his brain like an Egyptian darkness ; not a thought could pierce it ; even the avenues to conjecture were closed ; he could only feel that he was surrounded by a thing impenetrable, and he had no resource but to wait till some further circumstance should give form and direction to his undefined misgivings. Nor was he long without one. The closing of a window above roused him from his reverie. He looked up and saw a light in his wife's chamber, and a female figure passing from the window. Rosalia and Fialto now met in his thoughts." — pp. 128 – 130.

The following paragraph is worthy to be cited for the fine reflections it contains.

"Morally his heart *was* dead. But what must have been the agony with which a heart so gentle, so generous and noble, stiffened into death !

"Let no one marvel at this change, sudden as it may seem ; for there is no limit to human inconsistency. A single circumstance has often transformed the firmest nature, making the same being his own strongest contrast ; many things, — injury, ingratitude, disappointment, — may do it ; in a word, any thing which robs a man of that which gives a charm to his existence ; and chiefly and most rapid will the change be with those of deep and social feelings, who live in others. Such is man when left to himself ; and there is but one thing which can make him consistent, — Religion ; the only unchanging source of moral harmony. But Monaldi, unhappily, knew little of this. Not that he was wholly without religion ; on the contrary, his understanding having assented to its truths, he believed himself a good Christian ; but he wanted that vital faith which mingles with every thought and foreruns every action, ever looking through time to their fruits in eternity. The kindness and generosity of his disposition had hitherto stood in its stead ; he had delighted in making others happy, and thought nothing a task which could add to their consolation or welfare. But hitherto he had been happy, and his life had seemed to him like one of fresher ages ; like the first stream that wandered through Eden, sweet and pure in itself, and bearing on its bosom the bright and lovely images of a thousand flowers. Would one so full not sometimes overflow ? or would one *so filled* often thirst for what is spiritual, for what belongs to the dim and distant future ? preparing in the hour of peace for the hour of temptation ? Then he had met with

no adversity, with no crosses to wean him gradually from this delightful paradise ; no sorrow to lift his soul to that where trouble cannot enter. But though the present world seemed enough, and more than enough for him, in reality it was nothing ; it was only through *one* of earth that he saw and loved all else ; she alone filled his heart, modified his perceptions, and shed her own beauty over every vision of his mind. Now she was lost to him ; torn away by a single wrench. And could this have been without leaving a fearful void ? To Monaldi's heart she was all ; and his all was now gone, leaving it empty. An empty human heart ! — an abyss the earth's depths cannot match. And how was it now to be filled ? His story will show." — pp. 176, 177.

The effects of successful crime upon the guilty Maldura are thus finely and discriminatingly portrayed.

" We left Maldura in a state of misery only to be conceived by the guilty, or by those to whom a holy abhorrence of sin reveals its frightful nature. It was in vain he summoned the casuistry which had hitherto supported him in the contemplation of crime. It came now, as formerly, and with a sound of might, but it spent itself like the wind against a solid rock ; for he had now to do, not with hypothesis, but a based reality, darkening the present, and stretching its long shadow into the future. Before the accomplishment of his purpose his life had seemed a burden, and he would have welcomed death as a release from trouble ; but now, though the burden was heavier and more galling, the thought of death only filled him with dismay, and he shrank from it as the traveller shrinks from an abyss whose edge his foot feels in the dark, but whose depth neither his eye nor his imagination can fathom.

" Thus will the sense of guilt sometimes cow the proudest philosophy. The atheist may speculate, and go on speculating till he is brought up by annihilation ; he may then return to life, and reason away the difference between good and evil ; he may even go further, and imagine to himself the perpetration of the most atrocious acts ; and still he may eat his bread with relish, and sleep soundly in his bed ; for, his sins, wanting, as it were, substance, having no actual solidity to leave their traces in his memory, all future retribution may seem to him a thing with which, in any case, he can have no concern ; but let him once turn his theory to practice, — let him make crime palpable, — in an instant he feels its hot impress on his soul. Then it is, that what may happen beyond the grave becomes no matter of indifference ; and, though his *reason* may seem to have proved that death is a final end, then

comes the question ; What does his reason *know* of death ? Then, last of all, the little word *if*, swelling to a fearful size, and standing at the outlet of his theories, like a relentless giant, ready to demolish his conclusions.

"But Maldura's sufferings were now to be suspended, for the report of Rosalia's recovery at last reached him. This unlooked-for intelligence was followed by a spasm of joy scarcely to have been exceeded had he been suddenly reprieved from an ignominious death. He felt like one emerging from the hopeless darkness of a dungeon to the light and free air of day ; and though the hope which had once sustained him was gone for ever, and he had nothing to look to, he yet began to fancy, and even to feel, without stopping to ask why, that his former relish of life was now returning. But his respite was short. It was natural that release from a great, though only imagined, evil should render him for a time less sensible to such as were minor and actual ; but they were light only from comparison, and no sooner did the weight of the former begin to pass from his memory, than the pressure of the latter became more perceptible, till at last, in spite of every effort to resist them, they became the subjects of his daily and hourly contemplation.

"Amongst these, the sorest, and that which time rather added to than diminished, was the destruction of Monaldi's peace, perhaps of his life ; for Monaldi had never been heard of since the fatal night, and whither he had gone, or what had become of him, was still uncertain." — pp. 205 – 207.

The description of Rosalia's arrival at the wretched retreat of her husband, whom she had hoped to find restored to his reason, but whose intellect had been a second time overthrown, by the confessions of Maldura, is this.

"If it be hard to part with the dead, and to see one borne to the grave with whom we have been accustomed to associate all our wishes and schemes of happiness, and without whom nothing in life seems capable of imparting enjoyment, there is yet a consolation in the thought that our grief is only for our own suffering, since it cannot reach one to whom our loss is a gain. What then must it be to feel this entire avulsion from the living ; to know that the object with whom our very soul was mixed, and who is thus parted from our common being, still walks the same earth, breathes the same air, and wears the same form ; yet lives, as to us, as if dead, — closed, sealed up from all our thoughts and sympathies, like to a statue of adamant. What must it be to know too, that this second self, though callous and impenetrable from without, is yet within all

sense? The partial palsy-death of the body is but a faint image of this half-death of the twin-being wife and husband. And Rosalia soon felt it in all its agony.

"The alarm occasioned by this last scene was so sudden, that neither father nor daughter thought more of first making known their arrival, but, following the landlady, entered Monaldi's chamber. He was sitting on the bed, his hands clenched on his knees, and his eyes fixed on vacancy. Rosalia sprang forward, but at the sight of his countenance she shrunk back and stood gazing on him in silence. And next to madness was the dreadful conviction within her. She would have folded him in her arms; but the thought of the touch of the benumbed, vacant being before her sickened her, and she sunk back in her father's arms. But she had not fainted: the energy of hope that he might again recover, came like a ministering spirit, and nerved her for the occasion.

"'You must go with me,' said Landi.

"'No,' replied Rosalia, in a low, but firm, voice; 'I am *his* even in madness. Do not fear for me; the shock is now over. But speak to him.' Landi then advancing spoke to him by name; but, Monaldi making no answer, he drew nearer and took his hand. For a moment Monaldi turned to look at him, then withdrawing his eyes as if with terror, — 'Away, away!' he cried. 'Why come you again? thou liest, — Maldura did not do it, — 't was I murdered her. Look, — look at her, — 't was I, — she was my wife, — she 'll confess it herself. But no, she cannot, — she 's dead.'

"'No, she lives, — she is still yours!' cried Rosalia, going to him.

"'Ha! there are two!' cried the maniac with a frightful shriek. 'Take them away, — I did not murder both.'

"The father and daughter stood silent and motionless; their very breath seemed suspended; and for several minutes not a sound was heard but the quick, low panting of the affrighted maniac. Landi, alarmed for the reason of his daughter, drew her into another room, when she fell on his neck and wept. But we close the scene; for we cannot describe that which no tears relieved, — even that blessed dew, which, in most other cases, softens agony." — pp. 239 – 241.

We close these extracts with a passage from the beginning of the book, describing the picture, painted by the artist in his madness, and embodying the treachery of Maldura.

"After waiting some time for my conductor's return, and finding little worth looking at besides the Lanfranc, I turned to leave the chapel by the way I had entered; but, taking a

wrong door, I came into a dark passage, leading, as I supposed, to an inner court. This being my first visit to a convent, a natural curiosity tempted me to proceed, when, instead of a court, I found myself in a large apartment. The light (which descended from above) was so powerful, that for nearly a minute I could distinguish nothing, and I rested on a form attached to the wainscoting. I then put up my hand to shade my eyes, when, — the fearful vision is even now before me, — I seemed to be standing before an abyss in space, boundless and black. In the midst of this permeable pitch stood a colossal mass of gold, in shape like an altar, and girdled about by a huge serpent, gorgeous and terrible ; his body flecked with diamonds, and his head an enormous carbuncle, floating like a meteor on the air above. Such was the Throne. But no words can describe the gigantic Being that sat thereon, — the grace, the majesty, its transcendant form ; and yet I shuddered as I looked, for its superhuman countenance seemed, as it were, to radiate falsehood ; every feature was a contradiction, — the eye, the mouth, even to the nostril, — whilst the expression of the whole was of that unnatural softness which can only be conceived of malignant blandishment. It was the appalling beauty of the King of Hell. The frightful discord vibrated through my whole frame, and I turned for relief to the figure below ; for at his feet knelt one who appeared to belong to our race of earth. But I had turned from the first only to witness in this second object its withering fascination. It was a man apparently in the prime of life, but pale and emaciated, as if prematurely wasted by his unholy devotion, yet still devoted, — with outstretched hands, and eyes upraised to their idol, fixed with a vehemence that seemed almost to start them from their sockets. The agony of his eye, contrasting with the prostrate, reckless worship of his attitude, but too well told his tale : I beheld the mortal conflict between the conscience and the will, — the visible struggle of a soul in the toils of sin. I could look no longer." — pp. 14 – 16.

We think Mr. Allston has managed his story with good judgment in not restoring Monaldi to his wife, as we at first hoped he would. The man who has once aimed the dagger at the heart of the woman he loves, however strong and damning the circumstances that frenzied him to the deadly deed, and however thoroughly he may afterwards deplore and repent his suspicions, and however firmly he may be convinced of her innocence, can never be to her what he was before. The idea of settling down from such storms of the passions, in which life has been attempted and blood has

been shed, into another domestic calm, is shocking and preposterous. Better, far better, the Christian deathbed, and the lucid interval of rational affection and gentle resignation, with which this affecting story is brought to an appropriate close.

ART. VII. — *Ancient Spanish Ballads, Historical and Romantic, translated, with Notes, by* J. G. LOCKHART, Esquire. A new Edition, revised, with an Introductory Essay on the Origin, Antiquity, Character, and Influence of the Ancient Ballads of Spain ; and an Analytical Account, with Specimens, of the Romance of the Cid. New York. Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 272.

A COLLECTION of Spanish popular poetry opens to the lover of romance a region comparatively little explored, and one where a most fertile soil promises a rich harvest. The glory of no other nation is so intimately interwoven with poetry and song ; and the most splendid deeds of her heroes are embalmed in romance.

> "Teems not each ditty with the glorious tale ?
> Ah, such, alas ! the hero's amplest fate !
> When granite moulders, and when records fail,
> A peasant's plaint prolongs the dubious date.
> Pride, bend thine eye from heaven to thine estate ;
> See, how the mighty shrink into a song !
> Can volume, pillar, pile, preserve thee great ?
> Or must thou trust Tradition's simple tongue,
> When Flattery sleeps with thee, and History does thee wrong ?" *

And why should it be humiliating to the pride of fame, to live longer in the songs of the multitude, than in the records of history written comparatively for a few ? Have not the praises of the bard ever been regarded as the hero's best reward ? And would not the immortal Cid, had one of the Moorish magicians, who, no doubt, were numbered in the trains of the captive kings, permitted him to see in a magic

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* *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto I.

glass the picture of futurity, — would he not rather have renounced the fame secured to him in the dead leaves of dry chronicles, than the conviction, that, after seven or eight centuries, the rocks of Asturia would still resound with the echo of his name, called forth by "a peasant's plaint"?

Who of our readers has not heard of the rich treasure of Spanish Romances, and is not, in a certain measure, familiar with their lofty spirit and national dignity? Nevertheless, comparatively speaking, only a very small number have ever been translated into English; and among these how very few are the versions which are not to be considered as paraphrases rather than translations! The extreme simplicity of these romances, the peculiar character of the Spanish language, with its melodiously protracted words, its pompously sonorous sounds, and its harmonious diffuseness, all renders it exceedingly difficult to translate Spanish poetry without encountering the danger of making constant additions; especially when rendering it into a language with so many monosyllabic words, and so philosophically condensed, as is the English. The most skilful translator may, therefore, find it hard to avoid the insertion of epithets; in which poetical ornament, indeed, English poetry abounds as much as Spanish poetry is deficient.

Percy, who first unveiled to his countrymen the rich treasures of their own popular poetry, had also the merit of being the first to point out to them those of Spain. But the claims, which we, at the present day, feel ourselves entitled to make on a translator, are very different from those current in Percy's time. Correctness and fidelity are now considered as necessary requisites in a good translation; just as antiquarian exactness is expected in the publication of an old manuscript. No one, in the present state of criticism, would ever think of calling Percy's "Gentle River" a translation; although the Bishop assures us, that "the version was rendered as literal as the nature of the two languages would permit." Our readers may judge for themselves.

Rio verde, rio verde,	"Gentle river, gentle river,
Green river, green river,	
Quanto cuerpo en ti se baña	Lo, thy streams are stained
Many corpses are bathed in thee	with gore,

De Christianos y de Moros,
Of Christians and of Moors,
Muertos por la dura espada.
Killed by the cruel sword.

Many a brave and noble captain
Floats along thy willowed shore."

A strict adherence not only to the form and to the genius of the original as a whole, but also to its peculiar modes of expression, so far as these constitute the individual features of its physiognomy, — this is what we now require from a translator of poetry. Considered in this point of view, the versions of Spanish Romances, the title of which stands at the head of this article, can at the utmost be considered as fine imitations, but by no means as good translations. The work of Mr. Lockhart enjoys, as we are informed, a high popularity in England. Mr. Hallam, who, however, "admits his slight acquaintance and imperfect knowledge of the originals," thinks that they are known to the English public by these translations, "with inconceivable advantage." * And the writer of a very able article in the "Edinburgh Review," (which forms an appropriate preliminary essay to the new American edition of this work,) gives high praise to Mr. Lockhart, for having "emancipated himself from the drudgery of counting lines and interpreting single words; from that servility which has obscured the clearest, and deformed the most beautiful;" and thinks these poor, simple ballads, translated with "sufficient fidelity," and "frequently improved by a judicious pruning." †

There can indeed be no doubt, that, as poems, these versions are elegant and beautiful, and the attractive dress in which they appear again before the public, must necessarily secure them additional favor. But the public must, nevertheless, not expect to get from them a correct idea of the form of the Spanish popular Romances. We do not, it is true, exact from an English translation, the imitation of the assonant rhyme, which, in the Spanish ballads, continues throughout the whole in alternate lines. ‡ It is altogether foreign to the genius of the English language, and would be utterly lost to the English ear; and even to supply its place

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* *Edinburgh Review*, No. 146. † *Ibid.*

‡ *Assonant* rhymes, so called in distinction from the *consonant* rhyme, the only one used in English, are: *dos, traydor, hablo, no;* and, again, *vida, mia, solian*, etc.; or, *fama, lama, montaña*, &c.

by the consonant rhyme, and to continue the same throughout the whole ballad, would have no pleasing effect in English; at any rate, such an attempt would require the most skilful *artist* in verse.

But the peculiarity of the structure of the Spanish popular ballads, which we consider as indispensable, is the trochaic measure. The Spanish, like the French, *count*, but do not *measure*, their syllables; but the cadence of the whole, in their popular ballads (as indeed in most of their poetry), is invariably trochaic; and this feature contributes much to their elegiac and dignified character; just as the iambic and dactylic measure is a feature equally essential to English popular poetry. Mr. Lockhart has not paid the least attention to this principle. He uses indiscriminately the trochaic or the iambic, more frequently, however, the latter; nay, he often begins with the one, and continues with the other, so as to leave it very obvious, of how little importance he considered it. Indeed, this liberty is only a slight one, in comparison with others he has taken. Spanish popular minstrels have their standing phrases, with which they address their audiences, just as the English also have;*

"Deste os quiero decir."
Of this I will tell you now.

or more frequently; —

"Bien oreys lo que dirà."
You shall hear what he (she) said.

Such are their general phrases for introducing an action, or a speech. These words are mostly omitted in the English; instead of them, we find others peculiar to *English* popular ballads, such as; "Then out and spake," &c.; or, "A woeful man was he;" and numerous others. These familiar expressions, the prevalance of the iambic measure, and that pleasing abundance of rhymes in the middle of the verse, characteristic of English, but entirely foreign to Spanish ballads, † — all these combine to give precisely the impression

* Such as "Listen, lively lordlings, all;" or, "Hearken to me, gentlemen," "Come, and ye shall hear," etc.

† Such as;

"Good king, my hand thou mayst command, else treason blots my name;
I'll take the life of my dear wife, — (God, mine be not the blame!)"

of seeing, not, indeed, Spanish popular ballads in an English dress, but English popular ballads; while, according to our views, the impression ought to be just as different as the genius of Spain is from that of Britain.

In order to give the reader a chance to judge for himself of the extent of Mr. Lockhart's additions and omissions, we subjoin here his versions of two poems; one in juxtaposition with the more faithful translation of Dr. Bowring; the other, with a literal version, making not the slightest pretension to graceful versification, and intended merely to show the reader the perfect simplicity of the original.

COUNT ARNALDOS.

(Mr. Lockhart.)	(Dr. Bowring.)*
Who had ever such adventure, *Holy priest or virgin nun,* † As befel the Count Arnaldos, At the rising of the sun.	Who was ever sped by fortune O'er the Ocean's waters, say, As the *happy* Count Arnaldos, On the morn of Juan's day ?
On his wrist the hawk was hooded, *Forth with horn and hound* went he, When he saw a *stately* galley Sailing on a *silent* sea.	In his hand he held a falcon, And he went to chase the game, When a *gay and splendid* galley To the shore advancing came.
Sail of satin, *mast of cedar,* *Burnished poop of beaten gold,* *Many a morn you 'll have your falcon,* *Ere you such a bark behold.*	All its *fluttering* sails were silken, All its shrouds of cendal clear; And the *gay and clear-voiced* helmsman Sang a song *so sweet to hear.*‡
Sails of satin, masts of cedar, *Golden poops may come again;*	

* *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain,* selected and translated by John Bowring. London. 1824. pp. 78.

† Of all that is above printed in italic, there is not a trace in the original.

‡ These two lines, rendered literally, read thus; "And the mariner who guided it, (the galley,) recited a song." The same mariner, who is, in Dr. Bowring's translation, "a young and clear-voiced helmsman," is, in Mr. Lockhart's version, transformed into a "gray-haired sailor." Our readers are aware, that English translators can make any thing out of nothing.

But mortal ear no more shall listen
To yon gray-haired sailor's strain.

Heart may beat, and eye may glisten,
Faith is strong, and hope is free,
But mortal ear no more shall listen
To the songs that rule the sea.

When the *gray-haired* sailor chaunted,
Every wind was hushed to sleep, —
Like a virgin's bosom panted
All the wide reposing deep.

That the waves were calm and silent,
And the *noisy* storm-wind hushed ;
And the fish that lives the deepest,
To the water's surface rushed.

Bright in beauty rose the star-fish,
From her green cave down below ;
Right above the eagle poised him, —
Holy music charmed them so.

While the *restless* birds were gathering,
Listening on the masts, and still ;
" O, my galley, O, my galley,
God preserve us now from ill.

" *Stately* galley ! *glorious* galley !
God has poured his grace on thee !
Thou alone mayst scorn the perils
Of the dread devouring sea.

" O'er the waters of the ocean,
O'er the dark world's troubles far,
O'er the plains of Almeria,
And the straits of Gibraltar.

" False Almeria's reefs and shallows,
Black Gibraltar's giant rocks,
Sound and sandbank, gulf and whirlpool,
All my glorious galley mocks ! "

" O'er Leon's gulfs of peril,
Over the Venetian sea,
And the fearful banks of Flanders,
Where the hidden dangers be."

" For the sake of God our maker,
(Count Arnaldos' cry was strong,)

Thus he spake, the Count Arnaldos,
Thus he spake, and you shall hear !

Old man, let me be partaker
In the secrets of thy song."

" *Count Arnaldos, Count Arnaldos!*
Hearts I read, and thoughts I know;
Wouldst thou learn the ocean's secret,
In our galley thou must go."

" Teach that song, by Heaven I charge thee,
Teach that song me, Mariner."

But the Mariner was silent,
And he only answered, " No!
They alone can learn my music,
They alone, who with me go." *

The reader is aware, that the whole meaning of the original, which Dr. Bowring strictly followed, is here perverted. While the Spanish mariner recites a charm to shelter his galley from peril, the mariner of Mr. Lockhart chants a song of triumph, that God has already poured grace on his vessel. The additions in the following ballad are less striking; and we give it as a specimen of Mr. Lockhart's *most faithful* translations.

Mr. Lockhart.	Literal Translation.
My heart was happy when I turned	In those happy times of youth,
From Burgos to Valladolid;	When my heart was light and gay,
My heart that day was light and gay,	I was travelling from Burgos
It bounded like a kid;	To Valladolid one day.
I met a palmer on the way,	On the road I met a palmer,
My horse he bade me rein;	And such words he spake to me:
" I left Valladolid to day,	" Where art going, a poor youth?
I bring thee news of pain!	Where art going? woe to thee!
	O, unhappy knight! unlucky
	Is the hour I met thee here!
The lady-love, whom thou dost seek	Dead is thy beloved maiden,
In gladness and in cheer,	My own eyes have seen her bier;
Closed is her eye, and cold her cheek:	Seen her bier with black pall covered,

* The original is printed in the *Cancionero de Amberes*, 1555, p. 176; and thence again in *Silva de Romances viejos publicada por Jacobo Grimm*, Vienna, 1815. p. 244.

I saw her on her bier.

The priests went singing of the mass,
My voice their song did aid ;
A hundred knights with them did pass
To the burial of the maid.

And damsels fair, went weeping there,
And many a one did say :
Poor Cavalier, he is not here,
'T is well he 's far away ! "

I fell when thus I heard him speak,
Upon the dust I lay ;
I thought my heart would surely break,
I wept for half a day.
When evening came, I rose again,
The palmer held my steed ;
And swiftly rode I o'er the plain,
To dark Valladolid.
I came unto the sepulchre,
Where they my love had laid,
I bowed me down beside the bier,
And there my moan I made.

" O take me, take me to thy bed,
I fain would sleep with thee !
My love is dead, my hope is fled,
There is no joy for me."
I heard a sweet voice from the tomb,
I heard her voice so clear ; —
" Rise up, rise up, my knightly love !
Thy weeping well I hear ;
Rise up, and leave this darksome place,

Whereon they thy Love had laid ;
And to chaunt her funeral anthem,
I with my own voice did aid.
Seven Counts, and Knights a thousand,
Wept around in black arrayed ;
Wept around her all her damsels,
Weeping, to each other said :
O, how is the knight unhappy
Who has lost this lovely maid ! "
When I heard him speak these words,
On the ground I fell as dead ;
And before returned my senses,
More than twelve long hours had fled.
And when now I had recovered,
To her tomb I took my way,
Streams of tears ran off my eyelids,
Weeping, I these words did say :

" Take me, take me, O my mistress,
Take me also unto thee ! "

From the head of the *dark* tomb,
Whispered a sad voice to me :
" Live, O live, thou loving heart,

Live, although thou hast not me !

It is no place for thee !
God yet will send thee helpful grace
In love and chivalry ;
Though in the grave my bed I have,
For thee my heart is sore,
'T will ease my heart, if thou depart ;
Thy peace may God restore! "
God grant to thy arms success,
And another love to thee ;
While in earth my body moulders,
And my soul it longs for thee." *

The vast amount of romances and songs in Spanish literature, is very apt to puzzle the inquirer ; and he who wishes to study them systematically and thoroughly, is at a loss where to begin. In the case of most of the Spanish popular romances, neither the names of their authors, nor the time of their origin, is known. They have all been printed, intermingled with other poetry of various kinds, in the nine or ten "Cancioneros" and "Romanceros," which were published (most of them in several editions) in Spain, Portugal, and, above all, in the Netherlands, between the years 1510 and 1647. Ancient and modern, popular and learned, epic and lyric, religious and secular, all are mixed in these collections promiscuously together, without the slightest attempt at chronological order. The only Romances which were ever printed separately, are those relating to the Cid ; without, however, distinguishing the times at which they were respectively composed. The Historical Romances, likewise, were sometimes printed separately, in collections called "Romanceros Historiados."

The first who undertook to bring these latter into some chronological order was Depping, a German scholar living in Paris, a man of German learning, although of French taste. He selected what he judged to be the best, or rather those which in his opinion were the only good ones, out of all those numerous Cancioneros and Romanceros, and published them together in a single closely printed volume.† But his attempt to arrange the historical ballads chronologically,

* For the original, see *Romances de Sepulveda, Amberes*, 1580, p. 219. We have been obliged, for the convenience of printing, to separate the two lines of Mr. Lockhart's version, adopted by him after Grimm's example, into four, and thus to reduce them again to their usual Spanish shape.

† *Sammlung der besten Spanischen Romanzen*, Leipsic, 1817.

related only to the matter, not to the age or time when the ballads themselves were written. To fulfil this latter task seemed indeed possible to a native Spaniard only, since he alone can judge thoroughly of the language and of the historical conclusions to be drawn from its changes and progress. M. Böhl de Fabere, the editor of the valuable "Floresta de Rimas Castellanas," who, although a German by birth, has long been resident in Spain, and is said to possess all the necessary qualifications, held out in one of his notes the prospect of a chronological Romancero; but he has not yet fulfilled his promise. Until this deficiency is supplied, we must leave the exact age of the Spanish ballads out of the question, and be satisfied with some general conclusion.

There is every reason to believe, that Romances, very similar in form and contents to those we are acquainted with, were sung in Spain at the very developement of the Spanish language. It has frequently been remarked, that this language itself was poetry; each song or tale exhibited in it being in early times called by the very name of the language itself, *Romanzo*. That the form of the Spanish Romance was already known in Spain during the Roman period, is at least highly probable. William von Humboldt, when travelling in the Basque provinces, met with the manuscript of a mountaineer song, discovered by the Spaniard Ybarguen. This ballad, which is said to have come down from the Emperor Augustus, consists, like the modern Seguidilla, of *coplas* with a sort of *estrivillo;* both assonant and consonant rhymes can be discovered. It is a lament over a Biscayan chief, who was murdered by his faithless wife.* Although all that remained of this song was a manuscript, Humboldt saw some old people who remembered having heard it sung; and the language of the manuscript was still intelligible to them. Proofs that ballads, similar in form to those we now know, were current in Spain in very ancient times, are numerous; and it cannot be doubted, that the exploits of her heroes, and above all of that popular hero, Roderigo de Bivar, were celebrated by contemporary bards; and these productions served as a foundation for the interesting series of romances

* Humboldt's *Prüfung über die Urbewohner Hispaniens*, Berlin, 1281.—*Mithridates* IV. 354. Ed. Vater. Berlin, 1817.

concerning the Cid, which are now extant. In the thirteenth century, an Abate named Antonio, and a certain Nicolo, are mentioned as popular authors of romances. But the real history of Spanish popular poetry does not begin until the latter half of the fourteenth century; and the most judicious and best informed critics agree, that very few, if any, of the romances now known, are, in their present form, older than that epoch.

When, at the beginning of the fifth century, the Teutonic nations rushed into Spain, a dominion of more than four hundred years would seem already to have firmly established the Roman language; nay, with the exception of the northeastern region, as in France, even to the utter annihilation of the idioms of the aborigines. In what degree of purity the Latin language was spoken, does not appear; but it is certain, that the influence of the Teutonic languages, and, above all, their harsher pronunciation, served greatly to corrupt it, and finally to metamorphose it into a different idiom. When, about three hundred years afterwards, the Arabs invaded Spain, the language appears to have been already divided into *three* principal dialects, namely, the Southern Romanzo, of which the Valencian and Catalonian were subdivisions, and which was soon confined to the southeastern regions by the influence of the Arabic tongue, that superseded it entirely in the southwest; and two other dialects more nearly related to each other, one in the north, from which sprung the Castilian, and the other in the northwest, from which the Galician dialect and the Portuguese language unfolded themselves. The inhabitants of the northeastern regions alone adhered to their ancient tongue, the Basque or Cantabrian idiom; once perhaps the language of all the aborigines, but afterwards confined to the provinces of Navarre and Biscay, and, in our days, to the latter province and the immediate vicinity of the Pyrenees.

The Castilian dialect had for a considerable time already gained ground in the north and centre of Spain, while it was still regarded by persons of literary pretensions as a mere vulgar dialect, unfit for imitating the delicacy of an artificial Limosin *sixtine*, or the sophistries of a Provençal *tenzon*. For more than two hundred years, rude popular ballads had celebrated the great Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar, better known by his Arabic surname, *the Cid;* during all which time

the successors of his sovereign listened still at their courts to the *sirventes* of the Southern *trobadores*. Even Alfonso the Tenth, surnamed the Wise and the Learned, who esteemed the vernacular language of his country enough to cause the Bible to be translated into it, and to introduce it into all the public courts, and use it as a vehicle for his own alchymistic mysteries, — even he still entertained Provençal troubadours at his court, and listened to their sweet lays in preference to the rude *assonances* of a Castilian Romance.

It was, however, probably this very circumstance, which imprinted upon the Spanish romances so strongly the stamp of genuine *popular* poetry; so that, when romances became a branch of literature, and attracted the attention of the learned, even cultivated poets could not in their own attempts of the same kind efface this character. The accomplished prince, who wrote "El Conde Lucanor," a work of moral and political science for courtiers and persons in office, could also indite a romance in which all the simplicity of a popular production prevails, and which probably was actually sung, and is perhaps so still, by the common people.*

The ancient Spanish popular poetry may be divided into four different classes, namely, Historical Ballads, Moorish Ballads, Ballads of Chivalry or Romantic Ballads, and Ballads of a miscellaneous character. A division into narrative and epic or lyric ballads, or into ballads and songs, would hardly be admissible, since all these different forms of poetry melt in Spanish into each other, and are comprised under the common name of Romances. All are in the same national measure, the *redondilla*. The only difference introduced by usage is, that the poems divided into *coplas* or couplets were called *canciones*, songs; and those which were not, *romances*. But even the division usually made is likewise in the highest degree indefinite and defective. Many of the Moorish ballads are historical; and, among the ballads of chivalry, those which refer to Charlemagne and his Twelve Peers have in some measure the same character. The Moor-

* We mean the celebrated ballad beginning, "Gritando va el Cavallero," first printed in the *Cancionero General* of 1510, and, like "El Conde Lucanor," ascribed to Don Juan Manuel. We find this ballad in the *Floresta de Antiguas Rimas Castellanas*, among those pieces which the editor declares to be genuine *popular* romances.

ish ballads are moreover eminently romantic and chivalrous; and real history in Spain is in many cases as romantic, and displays as much chivalrous spirit, as any fictitious poetry whatever. We adopt this division, therefore, only for the sake of convenience, profiting by the occasional advantages which it affords us.

The *Historical* ballads, or those romances which celebrate some real or traditional event of Spanish history, are extant in great numbers. "He," says a German literary historian, "who would take the trouble of collecting all the historic romances, would succeed in bringing together a *complete* series of narrations of historical events, from the tenth to the sixteenth century. And, should it happen that the books of history were lost, their place might be supplied in a certain measure by these ballads. It is for this reason, that Corneille calls these poems '*les originaux décousus de leurs histoires.*' Several historians have indeed consulted them, and adduced them as vouchers for historical facts."*

With the conquest of the Moorish kingdom of Granada, in the year 1491, the historical ballads cease; or, at least, the connected series of these remarkable compositions continues no later. There are indeed single romances extant, which celebrate later events; and the number of ballads devoted to the chivalrous expedition of King Sebastian, extends to four or five.

The oldest historical fact which gave birth to a Spanish romance, was the tragic destruction of Numantia; which, however, has been more worthily celebrated by Cervantes in his beautiful tragedy; and still more nobly by its renewal in the glorious immolation of Saragossa. The romances relating to Charlemagne and his Twelve Peers, and their combats with the Moors, would follow next, were we to arrange these ballads in the chronological order of the events they celebrate. But these latter romances, being chiefly fictitious, and, for the most part without any historical foundation whatever, constitute the great body of the *romantic* ballads, of which we shall speak in the sequel. The earliest historical event which drew from the *trobadores* a whole series of romances, was the invasion of the Arabs, and the romantic incidents which occasioned, or, at least, accelerated it, namely,

* Depping's *Sammlung*, &c., p. xxii.

the crime of King Roderigo, and the treason of Count Julian. Another series relates to the history and exploits of Bernardo del Carpio, a hero of Leon. A third describes the achievements of Fernando Gonzalez, the founder of the Castilian power. A fourth series is occupied with the adventures and destinies of the family of Lara. A fifth is devoted to the celebrated Cid; and this *cyclus* comprises more than a hundred romances, while all the others are limited at the utmost to ten or twenty. These ballads cover almost the whole of the eleventh century. The interval between this epoch and the fourteenth century, when a new series begins, relating to the reign and death of Pedro the Cruel, is filled up by a great number of insulated ballads; of which frequently two or three are devoted to the same subject. The last very extended series relates to the wars with the Moors, and the final conquest of Granada.

The historic Romances of the Spaniards afford the most remarkable picture of the middle ages, which history has ever exhibited. Very probably, not all the events they report are historically true; not only the *trobador*, but even the writer of chronicles, thought it their privilege, in those times, to lend their ear and voice to popular traditions, as well as to authenticated facts. But, in a moral respect, these romances are perfectly and unquestionably true; and on that account we may justly consider them as a mirror reflecting a striking picture, to a certain extent, of the age itself, and especially of the Spanish nation, in respect to customs, morals, character, and disposition. And from no nation has there ever been reflected a portrait so bright, noble, and admirable. The solitary instances of coarseness, roughness, and cruelty, which these romances exhibit, belong to the age; while the thousand features they display of grandeur, generosity, fidelity, magnanimity, belong to the nation. The heroes they celebrate, are mostly of a moral purity unparalleled in the history, as well as in the popular tradition, of other lands. Bernardo del Carpio is the very pattern of a noble and candid knight, an affectionate son, and a generous subject. His exalted loyalty, a genuine Spanish feature, is united with the true spirit of independence, worthy a free-born man. When the French attack Leon, and the King seems inclined to yield to their superior power, Bernard declares;

"Deles el Rey sus averes,
Mas no les sus vasallos ;
Que en someter voluntades
No tien los Reyes mando."

"Let the king his goods surrender,
But not his vassals brave ;
For, to make the will submissive,
No king the power can have."

The stories of the Count of Castile and of the family of Lara illustrate very perfectly the manners and customs of the times ; especially, the latter, which relate only to private events, and which, on that account, exhibit very interesting pictures of private life ;—scenes of wild passion and tender affection, in which bloody revenge and filial piety, disinterested love and private vengeance, are so intimately interwoven, that not a single trait could be erased without destroying the whole picture. The same remarks hold good of the Romances of the Cid ; only that the political importance of his character gives to his private life a public interest also. His virtuous and honorable career finds a most striking relief in the base behaviour of his sons-in-law ; and nothing could better exhibit the character of the age, than the contrast of his dignity and magnanimity, with the contemptible and criminal acts of the Counts of Carrion. The extreme popularity of the Cid was probably the reason, why the centuries immediately following exhibit comparatively few heroes of popular romances. He remained for a long time the public favorite, and all the laurels were heaped upon his honored head ; until the long protracted war with Granada, and the final conquest of the Moors, gave another direction to mens' minds.

But, although we can scarcely appreciate these romances highly enough, as pictures of the manners and morals of the age and of the nation, we shall yet find them very unequal in respect to poetical merit. A considerable number are little more than chronicles in *redondillas* ; the oldest are often dry and tedious, while the more modern are disfigured by a certain bombast, and frequently by a puerile play upon words. But there are others, in which the most sublime and affecting poetry unfolds itself unconsciously. Although all Spanish romances were composed in order to be sung, and were

consequently made for exhibition, the poet never seems to strive after effect; he always appears, at least, to adhere strictly to the truth, and not to care how his audience may receive it. These compositions, in general, are not entire narratives; they are pictures of *single scenes;* not always indeed scenes of action, but often merely paintings of certain *situations;* or they are even mere descriptions. A speech of a favorite hero, addressed to his soldiers, the last words of a dying king, the complaints of a loving maid, have furnished subjects for many romances. A minute description of the Cid's wedding-dress makes out the contents of one; the description of the embroidery of a beautiful Moorish lady fills another. Others again, although likewise merely pictures of single scenes, are full of matter, and weighty in thought and contents. Thus, for instance, the ballad on the murder of Pedro the Cruel displays a most perfect picture of a popular insurrection, drawn with a few master-strokes. The romance in which Bernardo del Carpio, followed by his friends, appears before King Alfonso, to reproach him for his cruelty toward his unfortunate father, exhibits features of uncommon beauty. Among the romances relating to the Cid, are not a few of the highest poetical excellence.

Indeed, the character of the whole of the Spanish historical romances is unequalled in the popular poetry of any other nation; both in respect to dignity of style, and to the loftiness and magnanimity of the principles they display. That they are more perfect in form than the contemporary productions of most other nations, is easily explained; partly by the facility of making verses in the Southern languages, which have so much of music and poetry in their very sound; partly by the very early cultivation of the Spanish language itself. But in respect to simplicity and *naïveté*, the Spanish romances are on a footing with all other popular productions. These ballads, however, are not all to be considered as *popular* ballads; for they are of very different ages, and several were written by educated poets, and never became current among the people. It may, however, be taken for granted, that the greater part of the historical ballads were so formerly, and still remained so in the eighteenth century; but we regret to be compelled to add, that in our times these live only in books; and perhaps many more are buried in manuscripts.

The Moorish ballads, that is, those songs which describe Moorish scenes, or relate to the achievements of the Moors, are intimately connected with the ballads referring to the war and conquest of Granada. Although the time in which the action is laid is previous to the latter event, they were evidently composed after the Spanish poets had obtained an intimate acquaintance with Moorish customs and manners. When the valiant enemy, for a long time superior in power, and always superior in civilization, was at length conquered, national hatred and religious prejudice subsided into a natural admiration of the noble qualities, the Oriental luxury, and the higher refinement, of the Moors. Some of these ballads are probably translations from the Arabic ; others are imitations ; in all of them, however, the Arabic influence is manifest. The language is richer, the style less simple ; images and metaphors foreign to the chaste diction of the ancient lays are displayed ; and a fondness for the brilliant and the pompous breaks forth in minute descriptions of weapons, horses, and the like. Most of these ballads are of the sixteenth century. Whether they were ever current among the common people, is doubtful ; certain it is, however, that, if they ever were so, they are at present entirely forgotten.

The *Ballads of Chivalry*, or Romantic Ballads, comprise a numberless multitude. They seem to have originated at the same time as the prose romances of chivalry, and to have emanated from the same spirit. Both gave equal scope for the free course of the imagination ; and numerous minds, both poetical and merely fantastical, indulged in compositions of both kinds, in the most extravagant manner. The principal portion of this class of ballads consists of the "Romances del Emperador Carlos y de los Doze Pares," or the Ballads relating to Charlemagne and his Twelve Peers. It is really astonishing, that these properly foreign subjects could ever become so perfectly nationalized. The scene of action is indeed mostly in Spain ; but there are also many, of which the scene is in Paris. Poets of all descriptions seem to have contributed to enlarge the *cycle* of these romances. The inventors of most of them are unknown ; but, in respect to others, we find the celebrated names of Montemayor, Gongara, and others, mentioned as their authors. Most of these ballads, however, were always of a really popular character. Many of them have the same contents as the novels, which are so prolix,

and wind through a labyrinth of far-fetched thoughts, romantic adventures, and detailed descriptions; and what these latter were to the limited public of educated readers, the same the simpler romances were to the multitude, comprising high and low.

These romantic ballads, however, are not confined to the achievements of the knights of Charlemagne. Several knights of the Round Table, also, and many others of less renown, are included in this circle of poetry and romance. Most of these songs are, like the historical ballads, merely pictures of single scenes or situations; but there are a few among them, which embrace and relate a complete story; as, for instance, the celebrated narrative of Count Alarcos,* the story of Don Gayferos, which, like many English minstrel ballads, is divided into different parts; and also several other romances of considerable length. The character of these ballads is essentially the same as that of the historical class. The same noble and exalted feeling is displayed throughout; and the same stern and uncompromising point of honor, which sacrifices even the ties of blood and the laws of humanity to obtain satisfaction, and which appears in its utmost perversion in the story of Count Alarcos. Their style, with a few exceptions, is as simple as that of the historical ballads; they are neither rich in pictures, nor animated by a dramatic manner. In respect to composition, the romantic ballads are in general less simple than the historical; although by no means complicated. The most poetic moment of the action is seized by the author with admirable tact and genuine poetical feeling; and a picture is placed before the mind of the hearer, painted in all its features with the highest simplicity of truth. Bouterwek observes justly, "When a painter of spirit and talent shall study this mine of interesting situations, an entirely new field will be opened for historical painting."†

As it regards the present currency of the ballads of chiv-

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* The argument of the famous story of Conde Alarcos, was first given by Bouterwek, afterwards by Sismondi, and again by Professor Longfellow, in his *Outre Mer*. Dr. Bowring has translated the ballad itself, and a beautiful paraphrase is given in Mr. Lockhart's collection. On the whole, less liberty is taken in this piece than in most of the others. Dr. Bowring's translation is remarkable on account of the attempt to continue the same rhyme through the whole ballad, in strict imitation of the Spanish *assonance*. The effect in English is not pleasing.

† *Geschichte der Spanischen Poesie und Beredsamkeit*, p. 67.

alry among the common people in Spain, Depping says, that, although "many of these ballads are said to have been preserved for a considerable time among the mountaineers in the north of Spain, they are now supplanted by songs in modern taste; and only a few of the ancient ones are still to be heard."* On the other hand, we have information of their present popularity from several modern travellers and residents in Spain, both oral and in print. Professor Longfellow says, "The ballads which celebrate their [the Twelve Peers'] achievements, still go from mouth to mouth among the peasantry of Spain, and are hawked about the street by the blind ballad-monger."†

We find, among the Spanish ballads hitherto translated into English, very few only of the romances relating to the Twelve Peers. Mr. Lockhart's collection is mostly made up from the historical and Moorish portion, and from those romantic ballads which are devoted to ideal or fictitious subjects. From this latter portion are likewise chosen most of Dr. Bowring's specimens of Spanish *popular* poetry; as to which, we regret that they do not fill a larger section of his "Spanish Anthology."

We subjoin a single specimen of the romances relating to the Twelve Peers. We select it among the great number of similar ballads, less indeed for its intrinsic merit, — although no one susceptible of real poetry will deny its simple beauty, — than because we think it peculiarly adapted to represent the character of the whole class. It is one of the numerous scenes from the battle of Roncesvalles.

ROMANCE OF DURANDARTE.‡

"Where the blood of Durandarte
Left its trace along the grass,
Travelled onward Montesinos,
O'er a rugged mountain pass.

"It was now the hour of morning,
Scarcely dawned as yet the day;
And the spreading fields of Paris,
Half in shade before him lay.

* *Sammlung der besten Spanischen Romanzen*, p. xxxix.
† *Outre Mer*, Vol. II.
‡ For the original, see *Silva de Romances Viejos*, p. 136. In our translation we have aimed only at simple fidelity.

"From the war the knight was coming,
Broken all his armour there;
Only in his right hand bore he
Now the remnant of his spear.

"'T was the shaft alone was left him;
For the iron was sunk down
In the corpse of Albenzaidè,
A proud Moor, of high renown;

"And the Frank thus bore it with him,
That it as a staff might serve;
And his steed he therewith goaded,
Weary now and weak of nerve.

"On the grass he looked with wonder,
How it was all stained with blood;
Higher throbbed his head with sadness,
And his soul did ill forbode,

"Thinking whether some companion,
Friend of France, it might not be;
Pondering o'er this sad suspicion,
Came he to a beechen tree.

"There he spied a knight extended,
Who to him did seem to cry,
Seemed to call that he come to him,
That his soul to death was nigh.

"But the Frank, he did not know him,
Though he gazed upon him right;
For the bars of the dark helmet
Hid his visage from the sight.

"From his steed he quick dismounted,
From that face the helm removed;
Then he knew his dearest cousin,
Whom in life he most had loved.

"Now he must be present with him,
His last words to hear, alas!
Spake the wounded knight all faintly;
Him th' unwounded did embrace.

"And when now a while he lingered,
Could not speak for tears and sighs;
As the knight so near beheld him,
Spake he to him on this wise:

"'O! my cousin Montesinos,
Fatal to us was that fight!
In it perished mighty Roland,
Husband of Donalda bright.

"'Captured was the brave Guarinos,
Captain of our warriors fierce;
Deadly wounds have I received,
That my very heart did pierce.

"'Now, my cousin, that I meet thee,
Hear what I from thee do pray,
When I 'm dead, and when my body
Lifeless here shall lie to-day,

"'Then my fond heart from my bosom
Cut with this small dagger here;
Bear it hence to my Belerma,
Her whom I have loved so dear.

"'Bear her too from me this message,
That I in this battle died;
And that dead I thus do send her
What I living ne'er denied.

"'Give to her my wide possessions,
What I e'er mine own did call;
For the goods of every captive
To his lord at death must fall.'—
While he yet these words was speaking,
Fled his spirit, life, and all."

The contradictory reports in respect to the currency of the romantic ballads, can only refer to the romances relating to the Twelve Peers, or to those other ancient knights whose names, by length of time and change of circumstances, have become in a measure strangers to the present generation. Several ancient ballads are still current among the common people of Spain, which may rightfully be called *romantic* ballads; although they do not strictly belong to the descrip-

tion of romances above designated. These may be included in the fourth class which we have distinguished above, namely, ballads of a miscellaneous character. Under this very general designation, we choose to comprise all that are not embraced in the other three classes. Many subdivisions might be made; such as Pastoral Romances, Sacramental Romances, Gipsey and Robber Ballads, and numerous others. But this would extend our essay beyond all due limits. The pastoral romances, moreover, were probably never *popular* ballads. The word *romance*, as we have seen, includes in Spanish all kinds of poetry.

We cannot, however, leave this part of our subject without speaking of the great number of "romances jocosos," or burlesque ballads, which the Spaniards possess, partly narrative, partly merely lyric. We are accustomed to think of the Spaniards as a grave and sombre nation, always dignified and stately; or, when their passions are excited, prone to deeds of tragic violence. Those who are better acquainted with them know full well, that they are as loquacious and sarcastically sportive in their social meetings, as any nation; and many of their verses are redolent of these qualities. They display, indeed, all the gradations of the comic, from diverting simplicity in the innocent confession of an enamoured girl, and the ludicrous situation and disappointed vanity of a cheated lover, up to a strain of bitter satire and merciless irony, which even surpasses, sometimes, the limits of decency. The number of romances, marked by that simplicity which is between the touching and the ludicrous, is especially large, and the charm of many of these pieces is quite inexpressible. With all these multifarious evidences of the vigorous and productive imagination of the Spanish nation, we are struck with the singularity of the fact, that the world of fairies, whether Oriental or Northern, has had so slight an influence on their poetry. To account for it, would not be without difficulty. In one very ancient ballad, we meet with a bewitched princess, spell-bound to an oak, who asks deliverance of a knight-errant; but he, not indeed in the true spirit of the age, is too prudent to act without the counsel of his mother, and thus loses his good fortune.

There is a threefold manner of epic representation, which is employed in all its forms in popular ballads. The first mode is merely narrative, like most of the English ballads of

the second period of minstrel song ; for instance, Queen Elinor and Fair Rosamond, King Lear and his Daughters, &c. This style is almost necessarily connected with a certain diffuseness, which impairs the effect of the whole. Or, secondly, the poet places *pictures* before the mind of the hearer, perhaps single pictures, from which the hearer may infer the whole ; or perhaps a series of pictures, *tableaux mouvans*, which it is left to the hearer's imagination to bring into immediate connexion. This more powerful style is the favorite manner of the Servian, the Modern Greek, and the Spanish poets ; although they all manage it in very different ways. It will be found, that this style admits the greatest variety and richness of imagery and description ; while, however, a more powerful and immediate effect will always be produced by the third manner of representation, which we have frequently called the *dramatic ;* namely, where the dialogues and speeches introduced are characteristic, and so highly animated as to supply to the reader at once, pictures, descriptions, and narrative. Many of the Teutonic ballads are composed in this style ; for example the *ancient* English Minstrel ballads, and the Scotch, Scandinavian, and German ballads.

Not unfrequently, also, we find these different elements united in the Spanish ballads, as well as in those of other nations. But, from the prevalence of the second mode among the Spaniards, with which more of the first or narrative manner is combined, than of the third or dramatic, it may easily be comprehended, that the distinction between epic and lyric, or between romance and song, disappears of itself. The only species of dramatic form which we often meet with, is the dialogue ; oftener still the monologue ; but such ballads have not the least *action.* They are mostly descriptions of feelings and sensations ; like the *duo* and *solo* in the opera. Thus they approach likewise the lyric ; while in the narrative Spanish romance, the lyric element is so prevalent, that it occupies in poetry the same place, which in music is occupied by the recitative.

Although we cannot state with certainty, in what degree ancient poetry is still preserved in the different parts of Spain, yet we cannot doubt that the poetical productiveness of the people is still the same. Romances are daily made and sung to the guitar. But the favorite poetry of modern times are those numerous dancing songs, called *seguidillas.* These

pretty little songs are frequently uttered extempore by peasant lads, journeymen, soldiers, young women, &c. Most of them are helped out by a kind of burden, called *estrivillo;* others consist only of four lines; and these are either repeated, or the song is supplied from other seguidillas unconnected with the former, until the dance, which bears the same name, is finished. When we observe how short these seguidillas are, and consider the poetico-musical nature of the Spanish language, our astonishment at the frequency of poetical talent in this nation, must greatly diminish. We cannot, however, but admire the quickness of mind and feeling, which furnishes thoughts and expressions in a manner so unpremeditated, even if neither are of much value; still more are we pleased with the delicacy, the absence of vulgarity, which prevails in these verses. We owe the reader some specimens; but we cannot acquit ourselves of this duty without feeling anew, how utterly untranslatable are these sighs of love, or these flashes of wit. They lose all their charm, and indeed all their character, in a translation. We feel at the same time, that we should give quite a number of specimens, or none; for these little songs are like the warbling of woodbirds, —a single voice would do scanty justice to the whole. The monotonous chirping of one little feathered singer is tedious or burdensome; while we enjoy their full concert as the sweetest music of nature. *

Without a Burden.

I.

"Un paxarillo alegre
Picó en tu boca,
Pensando que sus labios
Eran das rosas."

Translation.

There came a little bird,
And at your mouth pecked he;
Because he took your lips
For roses on the tree.

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* All the specimens of modern Spanish popular poetry which follow, are taken from the very rare work entitled: "*Coleccion de las mejores Coplas de Seguidillas, Tiranas, y Polos;* por D. Preciso." The volume is without date.

II.

"Al hombre enamorado
Solo alimento,
Tormentos, desazones,
Ansias, y penas."

The only food for men
Who live in Cupid's chains,
Are torments and despair,
Anxieties and pains.

With a Burden.

I.

"Come á la aurora aplauden
Los paxarillos,
Haziendo en su alabanza
Lenguas sus picos ;
Asi en tu nombre
Repito á todas horas
Dulces canciones."

As the little birds
Greet the day with songs,
Using in its praise
Their little bills for tongues ;
So, love, in thy praise,
Ever I repeat
Sweetest roundelays.

II.

"El que sin causa zela,
Tal vez consigue ;
Ver que lo imaginado
Se verifique ;
Porque fomenta
La idea del agravio
Que estava muerta."

Who 's jealous without cause,
May seal his own sorrow ;
What he only fears to day,
May be true to-morrow ;
By suspicious thought,
Often unborn wrong
Into life is brought.

III.

"Quantas vezes mis ojos
Te han declarado,
Lo que nunca pudieron
Mis tristes labios ;
Ah, si pudiera
Decir te lo que paso
Qual tu sintieras ! "

How often have my eyes
In tender looks declared,
What my poor sad lips
Never yet have dared ;
Ah, if I but knew
So to tell my pain,
That you felt it too !

IV.

"Nace amor como planta
En el corazon ;
El ariño la riega,
La seca el rigor.
Y se se arraiga,
Se arranca el apartarle
Parte del alma."

Love grows in the heart
Like plants in the earth ;
Soft showers refresh it,
It withers by dearth.
And when thus dried up,
Plant and root soon part
From the soil of the heart.

The "coplas de seguidillas" are sometimes extended into real "canciones" or romances ; for Spanish lovers of all classes are very loquacious, and, indeed, inexhaustible in describing their sweet sufferings, the weight of their chains, the consuming heat of their flames, and other amorous extravagances. Songs of this kind, which sound prettily enough in Spanish or Italian, appear in their whole emptiness and insipidity, when translated into any of the more philosophic languages of the Teutonic stock. In some cases, the "seguidillas patéticas" assume even the character of narrative

romances. What indeed is wanting in the following Anacreontic little song, to give it claim to be called a romance ?

SEGUIDILLA.

" 'T was a cold, cold winter night,
When the winds did fiercely blow,
And from heaven came pouring down
From the clouds arrows of snow.
Then a boy came to the hut
Of a simple shepherd-maid ;
Shivering with the frost that night,
He for shelter humbly prayed.
All confounded and alone
Was the little shepherd-maid ;
Full of doubt and fear her heart,
And to open was afraid.
When the lad perceived her fear,
Weeping spoke he, while he smiled ;
' Open pray, be not afraid,
I am but a little child ;
Little child, drenched and alone,
Shelter seeking, hurting none ! ' "

Another species of dancing songs, differing somewhat in the measure, are called " Tiranos y Polos." Such are the following :

I.

" Cinco sentidos tenemos,
Todos los necessitamos ;
Todos cinco los perdemos,
Quando nos enamoramos."

Five senses we have,
And they needful are all ;
But all five are lost,
When in love we do fall.

II.

Tu me dices, que soy loco ;
Yo te lo confieso, sí !
Pues tan solo de este modo
Te hubiera querido à tí ? "

You say I 'm a fool ;
I grant, it is true ;
For, if I were not,
How could I love you ?

III.

" Montes, prados, flores, selvas,
Consolad á un afligido ;
Que de amores y desdichas
Se mira todo abatido."

Mountains, meadows, flowers, and forests,
Cheer a youth in deep distress ;
Who by love quite overpowered,
Loses rest and happiness.

IV.

" Dicen algunos que son
Los zelos de amor un hielo ;
Mas en mí vienen á ser
Materia que aumento el fuego."

Some say that jealousy
To love, is ice to fire ;
To me it rather seems
It makes the flame rise higher.

ART. VIII. — *Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a Report of* F. N. HASSLER, *Superintendent of the Coast Survey*, showing the Progress made therein up to the Present Time. Doc. No. 28. House of Representatives. Treasury Department. 27th Congress, 2nd Session.

BY this valuable communication, as well as by information reaching us from various sources, we are warned that the great public work of the Survey of the Coast is in danger of being again abandoned, or, what we should regard as still more unfortunate, of being superseded by some other plan of operations.

In a former Number* we presented a concise view of the

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* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLII. pp. 75 *et seq.*

nature of geodesical operations, and of the principles upon which they are based. The remarks there made upon the subject we conceived were sufficient to show the futility of any scheme for arriving at the perfect knowledge of any extensive portion of the earth's surface, for constructing a map, or correctly determining and connecting a number of distant situations, by any other rules of procedure than those which the science of Geodesia prescribes. They also afforded some data for a comparison between the American survey, as far as it had then proceeded, and similar works in Europe; such as, whether applied to the progress or the character of the work, might well gratify national pride. Our present purpose is, to submit a few remarks, not of a character to interest the scientific reader, but designed rather to arrest the attention of men, who, being necessarily uninformed upon matters of strict science, are nevertheless called upon in their high places to exercise judgment, and exert authority, upon questions in which the highest science is involved. It is our present aim to secure a clear and impartial investigation; to correct misrepresentations; to counteract the designs of scheming speculators; to defeat, if necessary, the instigations of ill-will; and to uphold the scientific reputation of the country, which is in some measure dependent upon the successful prosecution of this great national undertaking.

The question first in importance with regard to the coast survey is, whether any other mode can be adopted; — this mode having for its object the greatest amount of useful information, in the shortest time, and at the least expense. In discussing this question, so much has been said, and is still urged, concerning the use of chronometers, and the substitution of them for the present system of triangulation, that it seems worth while to say a word upon this subject, premising, that the serious consideration we here give to it does not arise from any idea of the value attached to such a suggestion in the minds of scientific men.

The chronometer in the hands of modern artists has, it is true, attained a degree of excellence which admirably adapts it to the general purposes of navigation, and supplies to seamen the most useful means of solving the problem of longitude. Still it is far too imperfect an instrument to be relied on implicitly. It possesses an inherent and constant liability to error, and although its accuracy may be preserved through

any short period, this liability is so multiplied by time, and the chances of accident, as to deprive even those which are most carefully constructed of all claim to perfect confidence. In cases where their use is indispensable, as in detached and local surveys, in the cursory examination of distant and inhospitable regions, or in carrying a chain of longitudes around the globe, and generally where strict and careful measurement is for any reason forbidden, their imperfection is in some measure remedied by numbers. Acting as checks upon each other, the amount of error is reduced, and the observer is enabled to fix, with a degree of precision sufficient for the security of ordinary navigation, the simple position of certain points and headlands. This, however, is regarded only as the palliation of an evil; the evil itself is fundamental, and admits of no complete remedy.

In determining differences of time between meridians widely separated, chronometers have sometimes proved remarkably successful, and have exhibited results of surprising accuracy. The reverse of this proves to be the case in the adjustment of minor differences, where the essential defects of the instrument are particularly displayed. There is no space, however small, of perceptible magnitude, which may not be submitted to trigonometrical measurement; but it will be readily understood, that there are points, at minute distances asunder, between which no difference of local time can be estimated. If it be asserted, which we are by no means prepared to admit, that such distances are unimportant in a geographical view, it will appear that they are of the highest topographical value when we come to consider the character of our southern coast.

If chronometers, however, could be implicitly relied on, and the determination of longitudes by means of them admitted of greater exactness, still it is to be borne in mind that their use, in connexion with the sextant, goes so far only, as to decide a certain number of fixed points.

This cannot in any strictness of language be called a *survey*. It still remains to fill up the intermediate spaces by some sort of measurement, and the mode and result of this operation are questions of serious importance. We need not enter into any detail to show, that a survey of this kind must content itself with the bare outline of coast, harbours, islands, &c., neglecting all the valuable details belonging to

physical and statistical geography, differences of level, and the distribution, limits, and peculiarities of the country under inspection, all of which are included in the operations of a geodesical survey.

We are told, that despatch is one of the recommendations of the chronometric plan. Numerous parties will probably, therefore, be immediately employed, and it will remain afterwards to harmonize their labors by joining the distant points of observation. To do this will, we conceive, be no easy task; and, if such a plan be adopted, we shall not be astonished to learn hereafter, that the attempted meeting of these unconnected operations is likely to break up in the most admired disorder.

We do not mean, in any thing we have said, to underrate the value of chronometers in their legitimate sphere. They might, undoubtedly, be advantageously employed in the preliminary determination of important points on the coast, which are known to be erroneously laid down.

Their accuracy may be depended upon within a mile, and even this imperfect knowledge will be in some degree a relief to navigators, where errors of alarming and uncertain magnitude are known to exist in their charts. Mr. Hassler has, in his letter to Mr. Gallatin, given to this proposition all the consideration it merits.* If such occasional use should be made of them, and the present system of survey should be continued, subsequent comparisons will abundantly prove, that even the simple determination of geographical positions by chronometers (omitting all question of a connected survey), however skilfully and expensively conducted, is unavoidably defective.

In a matter that may be subjected to rigid mathematical investigation, results are anticipated, and conclusions distinctly enunciated. But perhaps it will enforce our argument to exhibit some facts, that have immediate relation to the present inquiry. We select such as are nearest at hand. An attempt was made to determine the place of the Capitol, by means of chronometers, by Mr. Paine of Massachusetts, a gentleman distinguished for his zeal and ability in these calculations. He carried three chronometers from Boston to Washington, through Philadelphia, and back, observing the difference of

* *American Philosophical Transactions*, New Series. Vol. II. pp. 238, 239.

meridians of the three cities, both going and returning. The results of these are spoken of as important. The difference of his two longitudes of Washington, by Philadelphia and by Boston, is 14.″25. The difference between the mean of his observations, and the adopted longitude of Washington is 12.″9 ; whilst Mr. Paine's longitude of Washington differs from the mean of seven results of astronomical observations, solar eclipses, and occultations, by 41.″4.*

In the trigonometrical survey of the State of Massachusetts, begun in 1831, and concluded about a year since, embracing a territory of 8230 square miles, we find an exemplification of our argument at once pertinent and conclusive.

A letter from Mr. Simeon Borden, the superintendent of this survey, to the American Philosophical Society, in addition to an account of the work, gives a "comparison of his own results with those obtained by Robert Treat Paine, Esquire, from observations with a Troughton's sextant and mercurial horizon, and chronometers transported to different stations."

In the longitude of Pittsfield the chronometers exhibit a difference of 28.″98, — nearly one half of a mile ; yet thirty-nine chronometers were used in thirteen journeys. The meridians of Cambridge and Dedham are 3.′30.″43 apart by trigonometrical measurement ; the chronometers give the difference of longitude 3.′11.″10, making an error of 19.″33. In the case of Cambridge, twenty chronometers were used in six journeys, and in that of Dedham twenty-three chronometers in seven journeys. Gloucester and Plymouth, both seaport towns, which ought therefore to be known correctly, coincide in longitude, within 2.″10. The chronometers have increased that difference to 8.″55. This instance illustrates what we have before said of the incapacity of chronometers to note minute differences of local time with the requisite accuracy.

Williamstown, where twenty-eight chronometers were employed in ten journeys, is placed 19.″24 to the west of its true position. We have already remarked, that Pittsfield is 28.″98 in error. The sum of these two variations is 48.″22, or eight tenths of a mile, and one third nearly of the difference of longitude of the two places.

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* *Determination of the Longitude of several Stations*, &c. reported by Sears C. Walker. See *American Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. VI. p. 265, *note*.

The longitudes of Williamstown and Dedham, as decided by the chronometric method, present a discrepancy of 29.″32, or one half a mile nearly ; fifty-one chronometers, in seventeen journeys, were used to fix the position of these two towns. Other instances might be added to this list, but the table of comparative *latitudes* demands a passing notice.

The determination of this element, as is well known, is much less liable to error. A combined difference of 9.″86, or one sixth of a mile, appears in the latitudes of Boston and Squam Light ; and here the industry of Mr. Paine accumulated no less than four hundred and eighty altitudes for the determination of these two places. Three hundred and ten altitudes place Amherst 8.″70 south of Cambridge ; but an error of 4.″80, more than one half of the difference of latitude, is proved in these observations by Mr. Borden's measurement.

The two greatest errors in this table are 7.″30 and 7.″81, the sum of which makes the possibility of error amount to 15.″11, or one quarter of a mile.

We will add one more case. Mr. W. C. Bond, the distinguished astronomer of Harvard College, whose remarkable accuracy and skill in the use of instruments, place him by the side of the best European observers, says, in a paper now before us ; " In June, 1839, I had observations with a transit circle, the illuminated end of the axis east and west, on the 16th, 17th, 20th, 21st, 23d, 24th, and 25th. These observations gave for the latitude of the instrument, 42°.19 .16.″9." Reduced by the measurement of Mr. Borden, they determine the latitude of the State House, in Boston, to be 42°.21′.30″.3‴. Mr. Paine's observations with the sextant and artificial horizon give 42°.21′.22″.7‴. Four hundred and forty-two altitudes were taken by Mr. Paine, yet these insufficient instruments, in the hands of one perfectly skilled in their use, and guarded as far as possible against error by multiplied observations, fall short of the truth 7″.6. Mr. Borden's latitude of the State House differs three tenths of a second from that of Mr. Bond's.* The comparison of the precision of the two methods afforded by the Massachusetts survey is highly favorable to sextants and chronometers. It would be too tedious and expensive to apply to a great ex-

* *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, May and June, 1841.

tent of territory, including a large and indented seacoast, the reiterated and laborious processes of Mr. Paine.

The survey of a portion of the earth's surface is a work which comes within the domain of the mathematics ; it may safely be said, that any determination of a place, in which the mathematical theory is disregarded, must be fundamentally defective. A reference to this theory brings us to an argument which, we trust, no misapprehended views of science, and no preconceived notions of utility or expediency, will overlook.

The system of triangulation, conducted upon the principles in physics which direct this department of science, takes into consideration the spheroidal form of the earth, and enables the surveyor to construct such a map of that portion of the spheroid which is comprised in his labors, as will be an exact representation of its real figure. This mode of surveying, and this only, regards the earth as it actually is, in its irregularly elliptical form, delineates its surface correctly, and treats of the true measure and configuration of the planet on which we live. Topography, and many of the details of physical geography, come within its province ; as the courses of rivers, the direction and elevation of mountain ridges, the nature of the land, &c. ; — knowledge, which is essential to the defence of the coast, to the construction of fortifications, and to all the duties of the military engineer. It furnishes the most accurate and convenient bases, from which a network of triangles may be thrown over any of the States through which it has passed. Some of them have already united their local operations with the general survey, to their great advantage. We may add, finally, in relation to this topic, that, when we are called upon hereafter to make our contributions to the common treasury of similar knowledge, this work will supply the requisite data for the measurement of degrees on the earth's surface, and for the "accurate determination of the elements of the terrestrial spheroid."

It promises, also, to be of especial value in giving future security to the intricate navigation of the southern shores, a part of the coast of the United States rendered particularly dangerous by numberless reefs, shoals, and sand-spits. It is well known, that these are variable in their limits and condition, gradually forming in some places, and in others changing their extent and direction, under the influ-

ence of violent winds and strong currents. In order to acquire a permanent and useful knowledge of their character, and to provide an accumulation of facts that will lead to an understanding of their probable formations, dispersions, and changes, a certain knowledge of their present state is indispensable beyond that which can be reached by sextants and chronometers. Rigorous observations upon these and similar subjects in Europe, by geologists and other men of science, have resulted in great benefits to navigation.

The increasing commerce at the south, the future establishment of naval stations there, and the close and hazardous sailing that must be pursued, both by merchant vessels and men-of-war, in the event of foreign aggression, make it desirable that the *in-shore* navigation of the southern coast should be well understood.

We have already shown what degree of reliance may be placed upon the chronometer under favorable circumstances and in skilful hands. We are justified, we believe, in saying, that longitudes by chronometers cannot generally be relied upon, as correct within less than one mile. But shoals of light and unstable sand, beaches widening and narrowing, and downs accumulating and dispersing, under the action of local and general causes, demand accurate measurements of feet and inches, by means of which the operations of nature may be carefully studied, future obstructions be prevented, present ones be removed, if possible, and an effectual security be given to the pilotage of the southern coast. A trigonometrical survey, made with all the fidelity that the improved state of the science insures, is the only method adapted to the attainment of all these desirable objects.

Some complaint has been made against the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, because its results have not been published from time to time as they have been determined. The power and duty to direct both the manner and the time of their publication rests with Congress, and to that body such a complaint may be appropriately referred. A full and sufficient reply to this charge is contained in the Report. We may add here, however, for general information, that engravers are now employed upon the first sheets, which will probably be issued in the course of the coming summer ; and, if the work is continued, the publication will hereafter take place regularly, as the plates come from the hands of the en-

gravers. When these charts, executed with precision and elegance, under the sanction of public authority, are produced, we shall, for the first time, be able to look upon similar works, contributed by the English and French governments to the safety of commerce and navigation, without envy and shame.

Much is said of the expense of the survey, as at present conducted. In this matter, we are not particularly careful to answer. An honest and prudent appropriation of the public money we are willing to leave in the hands of those to whom it is legally intrusted. In this case, at least, we may be contented to confide in their integrity. Economy, it is true, is a virtue ; but mere saving is not always economy, — it may be the most imprudent waste ; — and, being satisfied of the paramount importance of this work, both to the public interest and to the national honor, we might say, without further comment, that it should not be interrupted. It is in accordance, however, with our previous remarks to add, that this is one of those cases in which economy is not identical with retrenchment. If chronometers possess in themselves an insurmountable tendency to error, the survey undertaken by their means, and dependent on their results, is not likely to be ever completed. What is certain to-day may be doubtful to-morrow. Subsequent observations may bring discredit upon those which have gone before ; and it is to be apprehended, that, however multiplied they may be, so far from ultimately removing the difficulty, they will only serve to strengthen doubt, and increase perplexity.

Besides this, experience will prove that the repeated transportation of numerous chronometers will be attended with but little less expense than a regular and scientific survey. As some ground for this opinion, we shall refer again to the high authority of Mr. Paine. In a letter to the *Bureau des Longitudes* at Paris, he gives the longitudes of several towns in Massachusetts, the results of his own observations, and adds ;

" These longitudes have been generally determined by the transportation of time repeated several times with numerous chronometers. Thus, between Northampton and Boston, I have carried seventy-four chronometers in twenty-four journeys ; between Amherst (the college) and Boston, or Northampton, twenty-seven chronometers in nine journeys ; between Barnstable and Boston, fifty-nine chronometers in six-

teen journeys; and between Gloucester and Boston, sixty chronometers in sixteen journeys." *

We have here an example of the manner in which chronometers are employed in the hands of a skilful observer. In estimating their use for a survey of the coast, the additional risk of transportation by sea is to be added to this account.

The financial department of the Coast Survey does not however present any thing so startling as to render these statements necessary for its defence. They are in themselves valuable facts and considerations, tending immediately to elucidate the subject, and weighing heavily against the proposed change; but they are not, we imagine, essential to vindicate the present plan of operations from a suspicion of waste and extravagance.

Since the year 1832, six hundred and twenty thousand dollars have been appropriated to this service, one hundred and twenty thousand dollars of which remains on hand in the form of vessels, instruments, and other property, leaving a balance of five hundred thousand dollars to be charged to the survey. When we consider that this expenditure extends through a period of ten years, that it has been bestowed upon a great national work, of the highest importance to the commerce and defence of the country, that it is a contribution to knowledge, and that its investment in this way has gone further than any thing yet done, to establish the character of the country abroad for a liberal patronage of science, we are not disposed to regard it as an expense which the strictest economist may not approve.

As to the amount of money, and probable length of time required to complete the survey, we cannot do better than to say, that these questions are ably and properly treated in the document before us. "With the advancement of the mathematical and physical sciences, the means of acceleration of any work grounded upon them also increase. All that is needed is, that the whole work be carried on in the most economical manner." (p. 11.) We are satisfied, that its progress will compare favorably with that of any similar work

* *Connaissance des Temps*, 1843. Additions, p. 95. The *Additions et Corrections sur les Tables des Positions Géographiques*, by Mr. Daussy, will repay a critical examination.

in Europe ; and we are not willing to be behind the old world in accuracy, and in honorable and permanently useful results.

The course pursued has already met the approbation of men abroad eminent in science, and practised in such works, whilst at home the survey has more than repaid the sums drawn from the treasury by the benefits it has conferred upon two of the largest commercial cities, New York and Philadelphia. It ought to be a sufficient argument for its continuance, that it has discovered what other operations, though often repeated, failed to find out ; and its success here was owing to strict conformity to the principles of surveying, which alone a severe science recognises. It is needless to say, that the duration of the work is indefinitely protracted by the frequent interruptions to which it has been subjected. If it were permitted to enjoy the friendly and intelligent patronage of Congress and the government, the greatest number admissible of assistants would be employed, and all the rapidity of execution consistent with accuracy would be secured. Mr. Hassler has given a list of similar works which have been executed, and are now in progress, in Europe ; from which it appears that not only flourishing kingdoms, but even petty principalities, have made their triangulations. When we contemplate the wealth, extent, and dignity of this vast empire, we feel that the hope is not unreasonable which looks for enterprises suited to its condition. But science, which knows no limits either of power or national boundary, finds a home among the thrones and insignificant dominations of Italy and Germany ; and, if it be rejected from the councils of this nation, will confer upon their humble princes a distinction before which we must be content to bow. The abandonment of this work will not fail to be regarded in Europe both as a calamity and a dishonor. The impress of instability, which seems to be stamped upon every public measure, might at least be removed from this, in which all parties and all prejudices may unite and harmonize. The survey of the coast has already created a distinguished school of topographical and hydrographical engineers, thus overcoming one of the early difficulties in the undertaking ; it will further contribute to erect a standard of science, the practical value of which we cannot now discuss. Should some other mode be adopted for the time, there can be small doubt that the pres-

ent method, the only one which strict science approves, will be hereafter resumed; and "the chances of an accumulation of errors upon such a long extent of seacoast as that of the United States, particularly in the direction in which it lies, will be too great, and the consequences of a want of system and care too glaring, not to bring discredit and shame upon a less accurate operation."*

We observe, in conclusion, that we have heard with surprise, that some officers of the navy are to be found among the active enemies of the present survey of the coast. It certainly reflects no credit upon that gallant profession, that such should be the case. None are so likely as seafaring men to profit by its labors, and we were disposed to believe, that gentlemen of that service were able to appreciate the utility and merits of the work. We will venture to remark, that it will give a desirable appearance of candor and disinterestedness to their efforts, if they are not found to derive a personal advantage from any contemplated change of measures which may go into effect. If, among those who are consulted either by the Navy Department or by members of Congress in relation to this subject, there be found any who have heretofore unsuccessfully sought a connexion with the Coast Survey, or who, having been once engaged in it, have had that connexion unhappily dissolved, it will be well, in considering their testimony, to weigh its value with an even hand. Any suspicion that may rest upon their opinions will not be attributed to our suggestion, but to the common experience of mankind, and to that judgment of human affairs, which finds in the probable motives of men the best explanation of their conduct.

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* *Papers relating to the Survey of the Coast. American Philosophical Transactions*, New Series. Vol. II. p. 400.

ART. IX. — 1. *Reports of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in Connecticut, together with the Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Board.* 1839. 1840. 1841.

2. *The Connecticut Common School Journal; published under the Direction of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools.* Vols. I. II. III. Hartford. 1838 – 1841.

3. *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education,* [of Massachusetts] *together with the Fifth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Senate Document, No. 4. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 135.

THE State of Connecticut has always recognised, in her practice and her legislation, the duty of a State to provide for the moral and intellectual education of all its children. The first enactment in her statute book on the subject of education bears the date of 1650, and forms part of a body of laws compiled by Mr. Ludlow. In this compilation are found various provisions on the subject of education, the preamble to one of which we copy for the sake of its quaint phraseology.

"It being one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times, keeping them in an unknown tongue, so, in these latter times, by persuading them from the use of tongues, so that at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded with false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers; and that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavours: it is therefore ordered, &c."

Various other provisions were made from time to time, by the legislature, showing a laudable interest in the subject of education, and a wish to contribute to its improvement. In 1795, the avails of the sale of certain Western lands, now forming part of Ohio, which had been reserved by the State in its deed of cession to the United States in 1782, amounting to $ 1,200,000, were for ever appropriated to the support of common schools; and, in 1818, this legislative destination of it was confirmed, with the sanction of constitutional provision. This capital has been increased by judicious

management to more than two millions of dollars, and the interest, amounting to about one hundred thousand dollars, is annually distributed among the several school societies and districts, according to the number of children between the ages of four and sixteen. In 1836, that portion of the surplus fund belonging to the United States, which fell to Connecticut, was, by an act of the legislature, deposited with the several towns in proportion to their respective population, according to the census of 1830, on condition that at least one half of the income thereof should be appropriated for the promotion of education in the common schools in such towns. Under this act, $764,670·61, have been deposited with the towns. The other expenses of public instruction are defrayed from society and local school funds, from taxes on property, and assessments on the parents of children attending schools. Of the whole expense, it is estimated, that property pays one ninth, parents who send children, three ninths, and permanent funds, five ninths. Thus it will be seen, that of the three modes of sustaining common schools, namely, by permanent and liberal State endowments, by the property of local organizations, or by a school rate paid by the parents of scholars, Connecticut has not adopted either entire. Her main reliance, however, is on the avails of permanent funds, and in this respect her system is peculiar, and has attracted much attention. The fund has been supposed not to exert a favorable influence upon education ; but Mr. Barnard, the Secretary of the Board of Education, in his second annual Report, maintains, that great injustice has been done to the system in this respect, and he suggests reasons in favor of a judiciously managed fund, which are entitled to much consideration from their intrinsic good sense, and his own knowledge and experience.

The example of Connecticut, however, and of many of her sister States, showed that neither wholesome laws nor liberal appropriation of money would create good schools, unless seconded by zealous, intelligent, and high-principled efforts in the people themselves. The attention of the judicious and thoughtful was called to the urgent necessity of improving the condition of common schools, and elevating the standard of public education. The subject was recommended to the consideration of the legislature by the Governor in his annual message in 1838, and official information respect-

ing the condition of the common schools, was, for the first time, laid before the legislature, in the form of returns from one hundred and four, out of two hundred and eleven school societies in the State. A select committee on the part of the House and Senate was raised, to whom these and other documents were referred. Their Report embodied the following conclusions ; that parents generally exhibit little or no interest in common schools by attending examinations or otherwise ; that school visitors and school committees, in some school societies, were not faithful in the discharge of their duties as prescribed by law ; that poorly qualified and inefficient teachers were employed in the schools, and that the rate of compensation was not adequate to their deserts or equal to the rewards of skill and industry in other fields of labor ; that the diversity of school books was an evil of alarming magnitude ; that school houses, in respect to location, structure, warming, ventilation, seats, and desks, were very much neglected ; that many children of the proper age to receive instruction, did not attend any school ; that this number, in 1837, was not less than six thousand ; and that there were over one thousand persons, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who could not read or write.

With these facts before them, the committee unanimously recommended a bill for a public act "to provide for the better supervision of common schools," which was passed into a law by the unanimous vote of the Senate and with but a single dissenting voice in the House.

This act constitutes the Governor, the commissioner of the school fund, and one person for each county in the State, a "Board of Commissioners for Common Schools" ; and it aims to secure the better supervision of schools by bringing their condition, in the form of annual Reports, first before the school societies by the local visitors, and afterwards before the legislature and the State, in the communications of the Board. To make these Reports subserve the progress of the system, both the State Board and the local visitors are required to submit such plans of improvement, as their own observation and reflection may suggest. To enable the Board to ascertain the condition of the schools, and collect materials for sound legislative action, they are authorized to call for information from the proper local school authorities, and to appoint a Secretary, who shall devote his whole time, if required,

under their direction, "to ascertain the condition, increase the interest, and promote the usefulness, of the common schools." The Board was clothed with no power to interfere directly with the organization and management of the schools. Its office is, by the agency of its individual members and its Secretary, to inquire into the state of the schools, to learn what their defects are, and the best means by which those defects can be remedied, and the further improvement of education secured; and then, by their communications to the Legislature and the people, to suggest such modifications of the system, and of practices under it, as may lead to its more extensive usefulness.

The Board met for the first time in June, 1838, and chose their Secretary. His duties as prescribed by the Board were; to ascertain by personal inspection of the schools, and by written communications from school officers and others, the actual condition of the schools; to prepare an abstract of such information for the use of the Board and the Legislature, with plans and suggestions for the better organization and administration of the school system; to attend and address at least one meeting of such parents, teachers, and school officers, as were disposed to come together on public notice, in each county, and as many local meetings as other duties would allow; to edit and superintend the publication of a journal, devoted exclusively to the promotion of common-school education; and to increase, in any way practicable, the interest and intelligence of the community in relation to the whole subject of popular education. It will thus be seen, that the Connecticut Board of Commissioners of Common Schools, resembles very closely, in its organization and objects, the Massachusetts Board of Education, and that the duties of their respective Secretaries are exactly parallel.

We have before us three annual Reports, prepared by the Secretary, Mr. Barnard, and three volumes of the "Connecticut Common School Journal," edited by him; and from the evidence, which these contain, of his talents, industry, conscientiousness, and ardent devotion to the great cause of education, we do not hesitate to pronounce the State most fortunate in having secured his services in that department. From his first annual Report, presented in May, 1839, it appears, that in the previous year, the Secretary attended a

common-school convention in each of the eight counties in the State, addressed more than sixty public meetings in various parts of the State, inspected more than two hundred schools while in session, received official returns from school visitors respecting more than twelve hundred districts, had personal or written communications with school officers or teachers in more than two thirds of all the school societies, and superintended the publication of the "Connecticut Common School Journal," more than sixty thousand copies of the twelve numbers of which were circulated, for the most part gratuitously, over the State. And in the subsequent years substantially the same measures were pursued to awaken and enlighten the public mind, by the voice and the press.

The condition of the schools, and of the public mind respecting them, as appears by the Secretary's first Report, called most loudly for the quickening breath of a new life. The system was becoming paralyzed by apathy and want of interest in all its departments. The fatal dry-rot of indifference, — a foe the more dangerous from its working silently and unobservedly, — was slowly eating into its heart. School meetings were thinly attended ; school officers neglected their trust, or were content with a mere formal discharge of their duties ; incompetent teachers were employed, without being subjected even to a nominal examination ; public money was appropriated to other objects than those specified in the law ; school-houses were imperfectly constructed and ventilated, and ill furnished ; there was a want of uniformity in books taught and studies pursued ; the late and irregular attendance of the children in many schools was such as to amount to an almost perfect waste of their privileges ; the instruction given was imperfect, and of an inferior quality ; and, to crown the whole, as at once the cause and effect of the low state of the public schools, there was a profound apathy on the part of the public generally, and a want of that encouragement, sympathy, and coöperation on the part of the parents, which are so essential to the success of a teacher.

Though, of course, no great changes can be effected in the space of three or four years, yet we have in the documents before us, and from the testimony of gentlemen who have visited Connecticut, abundant evidence to show that much good has been done, and that more will be done. The proceedings of the Board and of the Secretary have been marked

by uniform good judgment and tact, and they appear to have met with the coöperation of the people in a manner creditable to both parties. No factious and short-sighted opposition seems to have embarrassed their path, and neither political nor religious jealousy has apparently retarded their progress. The Legislature have done their duty, and by various enactments have brought the system to a greater degree of theoretical excellence, remedied its faults, and supplied its deficiencies. And above all, the public attention is called to the subject, a new impulse is given to the mind of the community, and a new sense of the value of public education, and of the necessity of elevating it, awakened. Parents, teachers, school committees have aroused themselves from their slumbers into life and action, and the good effects of the change are beginning to be perceived, and an earnest of future and continued improvement is given. This is the great thing. Let the public mind be interested in this paramount subject, and all will go right. There is such a capacity both for action and thought in the New England mind and character, that every thing is pretty sure to be well done, which is zealously and earnestly undertaken. Let the community feel deeply and fervently, that their children must be well educated, and the work is already half accomplished. The willing head and hand will never want instruments. We wish our sister Commonwealth a cordial God-speed in her generous enterprise, and earnestly desire that her progress may be rapid and uninterrupted in that good path in which her older New England sister has but a year's start of her. We hope she may tread so closely upon our steps, as to make us quicken our efforts lest we should be outstripped. That is a noble strife, which we take pride in encouraging ; for all, who engage in it, win. There is neither the insolence of triumph, nor the chagrin of defeat.

We commend Mr. Barnard's three Reports as valuable documents, ably and carefully prepared, and worthy the attention of all who feel an interest in the literature of education. The "Connecticut Common School Journal," also, is a useful and well-conducted work, containing many good original communications and a large amount of excellent selections. We would especially commend an elaborate sketch of the various systems of elementary education in Europe contained in the Appendix to the second volume,

and sundry documents in the first and second volumes on popular education in the United States.

We cannot take leave of this subject, without recording our admiration of that singular disinterestedness which crowns Mr. Barnard's other good qualities. For his services he receives three dollars per day, and his expenses are paid; but it appears that he has expended for various purposes, in aid of the cause of education, an amount equal to the whole of his salary, and has consequently, in point of fact, devoted his whole time, gratuitously, for the last three years, to this interest. We record this fact with pride and pleasure, in the thought, that, in this age of loud profession and restless self-seeking, an individual has been found, with the magnanimity to enter upon, and the resolution to persevere in, this modest course of self-sacrificing usefulness. Let the State of Connecticut look to it, that she pays to such conduct its proper meed of gratitude and respect. One such man is worth a score of flatulent speechmakers and selfish politicians. We learn from an unobtrusive editorial notice, that he has suffered on account of the injustice done to his motives in assuming his office. To this he must make up his mind. It is the common lot. The privilege of abusing the men who serve us in public trusts is one of the last luxuries to be surrendered. Whether we do this as a sort of safety-valve for the escape of the ill-temper, that would otherwise find no lawful vent, or whether we think that the holding of a public office is a privilege so vast, a station so high, that the head would be turned without the wholesome medicine of carping and fault-finding, and we therefore apply it with that stern sense of duty with which a loving father corrects a froward child, we are not prepared to say. In either alternative, the victims will find appropriate consolation.

We turn from Mr. Barnard, and his excellent services to Common-School Education in Connecticut, to say a few words of the condition of the same great interest in a sister State. We have, at different times, spoken at large of the indefatigable labors of Mr. Mann, Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts, and propose nothing more at present, than to lay before our readers a few facts, drawn from his "Fifth Annual Report," presented to the Legislature of that Commonwealth, at its recent session. The following statements are undoubtedly of the most satisfactory character;

"It is now four years since I prepared the Abstract of the School Returns for 1837, and made my First Annual Report to the Board.

"Since that time, the amount of appropriations made by the towns for the wages and board of the teachers, and fuel for the Schools, has increased more than one hundred thousand dollars.

"During the same time, the schools have been lengthened, on an average, almost three weeks each, which, for three thousand one hundred and three, (the number of public schools kept last year in the State,) amounts in the whole to more than one hundred and seventy-five years.

"The average wages of male teachers, for the same period, have advanced thirty-three per cent. ; those of females, a little more than twelve and a half per cent. I am satisfied, that the value of the services of both sexes has increased in a much greater ratio than that of their compensation.

"There were one hundred and eighty-five more public schools last year, than in 1837, which is rather less than the ratio of increase in the number of children between the ages of four and sixteen years. This favorable result is owing to the union of small districts. The number of male teachers has increased one hundred and twenty-one ; that of females, five hundred and twenty-one, which shows the growing and most beneficial practice of employing female teachers for small schools, and female assistants in large ones.

"Many towns in the State, during the last year, completed the renovation of all the school-houses within their respective limits.

"From a perusal of the school committees' reports for the last year, it appears that the number of schools broken up by the insubordination of the scholars, was not more than one tenth part of what it was for the preceding year. This gain to the honor of the schools, — or rather this exemption from disgrace, — is to be attributed to the combined causes of better modes of government by the teachers, more faithful supervision by the committees, a more extended personal acquaintance on the part of parents, and especially to the practice of making a report to the towns of the condition of the schools, and the conduct of the scholars. Few boys between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one years are so depraved and shameless as not to recoil at the idea of being reported for misconduct, in open town meeting, and of having an attested record of their disgrace transmitted to the seat of government, with the chance, should they persist in their incorrigibleness for two or three years, of finding themselves historically known to other coun-

tries and times, through the medium of the school abstracts. The cases of schools brought to a violent termination, during the last year, by the insubordination of the scholars, happened almost invariably in those towns and sections of counties in the State, where I have found the least sympathy and coöperation in my labors " — pp. 23 – 25.

There is, however, a different side of the picture, presenting a subject for anxious reflection.

" Much has been, and much still continues to be, both said and written respecting that equality in the laws, and equality under the laws, which constitutes the distinctive feature of a Republican government. By abolishing the right of primogeniture and entails, by the extension of the elective franchise, and in other ways, much has been done towards realizing the two grand conceptions of the founders of our government, viz. that political advantages should be equal, and then that celebrity or obscurity, wealth or poverty, should depend on individual merit. But the most influential and decisive measure for equalizing the original opportunities of men, that is, equality in the means of education, has not been adopted. In this respect, therefore, the most striking and painful disparities now exist. One source of this difference, indeed, is to be found in the almost unlimited freedom of action exercised by the different towns in regard to their liberality or parsimony, in appropriating money for the support of schools, and their fidelity or remissness in the supervision of this great trust. In this respect, the towns resemble individuals. One parent will make all sacrifices, he will economize in his pleasures, dress, shelter, and even in his food, to save the means of educating his children ; while another, — perhaps his nearest neighbour, — will sell the services of his children for a few pence a day, through the whole year, that he may hoard their earnings, or spend them in dissipation. The towns have been left, substantially, to the exercise of the same free will. It is true, that the law, from time to time, has imposed certain obligations upon them ; but these obligations they have generally obeyed or neglected, at their option. Indictments against them for non-observance of the law, have been very few, though their omissions to obey it have been many. The judicial records of the State will show a hundred prosecutions against towns for the defective condition of their roads or bridges, for one complaint on account of omissions or transgressions of the school laws. Some towns, through the influence of a few public-spirited and enlightened individuals, have not only observed, but gone far beyond, the requisitions of the law ; while, in other towns,

where a few men of an opposite character have gained a preponderating influence, the schools have fallen far below its minimum requirements. On a broad survey of the State, and an inquiry into the causes which have led to the superior intelligence and respectability of some towns, as compared with others, it will almost uniformly be discovered, that the foundations of their prosperity were laid by a few individuals, — in some cases, by a single individual, — in elevating the condition of their common schools.

"Under these different circumstances, the most striking inequalities have grown up. According to the Graduated Tables, inserted at the end of the school abstract, it appears that, in regard to the amount of money appropriated for the support of schools, the difference between the foremost and the hindmost towns in the State, is more than *seven to one!*

"There were five towns which appropriated, for the last year, more than five dollars for the education of each child within their limits, between the ages of four and sixteen years.

"11 other towns appropriated more than $4 for each child within the same years.

28	"	"	"	3	"
123	"	"	"	2	"
139	"	"	"	1	"
1	"	"	less than	1	"

"The average of appropriations for the whole State, was two dollars and seventy-one cents, for each child between the abovementioned ages. No town, in the counties of Berkshire or Barnstable, came up to the average of the State, and in the county of Bristol, only one town (New Bedford) equalled it.

"If any one will take a map of the Commonwealth, on which the several towns are delineated, and, with a pencil, enter the amount appropriated by each for the support of schools, he will be astonished at the difference between towns situated in the vicinity of each other; and, oftentimes, at that between contiguous towns. Let the county tables be referred to, and it will be seen that towns standing at or near the head of the column, and those, which could stand at the head only on condition that the order of precedence should be reversed, are towns which, geographically, lie side by side, or in the near vicinity of each other, and in regard to whose natural resources, or eligibility of location, there is but little difference. In taking the single step which carries us across the ideal line separating one town from another, we pass through an immense moral distance. We pass, as it were, from the fertility of the tropical zone to the sterility of the frozen, without any intermedial temperate. It is a common device of geographers, for

illustrating the different degrees of civilization or barbarism existing in different parts of the globe, to variegate the surface of a map with different colors and shades, from the whiteness which represents the furthest advances in civilization and Christianity, to the blackness denoting the lowest stages of barbarism. A similar map has been prepared, representing the educational differences between the different departments in the kingdom of France. A map of the different towns of Massachusetts, drawn and colored after such a model, would exhibit edifying, though humiliating contrasts. It would show that, during the last half century, the most efficient cause of social inequality has been left to grow up amongst us unobserved ; and it would furnish data for the prediction, to a great extent, of the future fortunes of the rising generation, in the respective towns. If all that has been said by the wise and good men of past times, respecting the efficiency of our common schools to fit children for the high and various relationships of life, be not a delusion, then, the most instructive lessons concerning the future may be drawn from a comparison of present educational conditions.

"No other fact has ever exhibited so fully the extent of obligation which some towns are under to a few individuals, who have had the forecast and the energy, in the midst of difficulties and opposition, to sustain their schools. I have met many individuals, who, having failed to obtain any improvement in the means of education in their respective places of residence, have removed to towns whose schools were good, believing the sacrifice of a hundred, or even of several hundred dollars, to be nothing, in comparison with the value of the school privileges secured for their children by such removal. Still more frequently, when other circumstances have rendered a change of domicil expedient, has this principle of selection governed in choosing a residence. I doubt not there are towns, where parsimonious considerations relative to the schools have obtained the ascendency, which have actually lost more, in dollars and cents, by a reduction of taxable property and polls, than, in their short-sightedness, they supposed they had gained by their scanty appropriations, besides inflicting a sort of banishment upon some of their most worthy and estimable citizens." — pp. 70 – 73.

But what we have read in this Report with a surprise, which we ought rather perhaps to be surprised at feeling, is a collection of most interesting facts showing how the capacity of profitable manual labor is improved by the education afforded at these schools. Mr. Mann, from unquestionable data, has

shown to the tax-payers of Massachusetts, that these institutions, instead of being the heavy charge which at first view they appear to be, are, in proportion to their good condition, a rich source of wealth. He has made this appear, not from any vague considerations of the benefits of intelligence and knowledge, but by presenting circumstantial statements, obtained from the most competent witnesses, in the form of figures, which cannot lie. A letter from Mr. J. K. Mills, of a well-known mercantile house in Boston, is so full of important matter bearing on this point, that we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of giving it almost entire.

"The house with which I am connected in business, has had for the last ten years, the principal direction of cotton mills, machine shops, and calico-printing works, in which are constantly employed about three thousand persons. The opinions I have formed of the effects of a common-school education upon our manufacturing population, are the result of personal observation and inquiries, and are confirmed by the testimony of the overseers and agents, who are brought into immediate contact with the operatives. They are as follows ;

"1. That the rudiments of a common school education are essential to the attainment of skill and expertness as laborers, or to consideration and respect in the civil and social relations of life.

"2. That very few, who have not enjoyed the advantages of a common-school education, ever rise above the lowest class of operatives ; and that the labor of this class, when it is employed in manufacturing operations, which require even a very moderate degree of manual or mental dexterity, is unproductive.

"3. That a large majority of the overseers, and others employed in situations which require a high degree of skill, in particular branches ; which, oftentimes, require a good general knowledge of business, and, *always*, an unexceptionable moral character ; have made their way up from the condition of common laborers, with no other advantage over a large proportion of those they have left behind, than that derived from a better education.

"A statement made from the books of one of the manufacturing companies under our direction, will show the relative number of the two classes, and the earnings of each. This mill may be taken as a fair index of all the others.

"The average number of operatives annually employed for

the last three years, is twelve hundred. Of this number, there are forty-five unable to write their names, or about $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

"The average of women's wages, in the departments requiring the most skill, is $2·50 per week, exclusive of board.

"The average of wages in the lowest departments is $1·25 per week.

"Of the forty-five who are unable to write, twenty-nine, or about two thirds, are employed in the lowest department. The difference between the wages earned by the forty-five, and the average wages of an equal number of the better educated class, is about twenty-seven per cent. in favor of the latter.

"The difference between the wages earned by twenty-nine of the lowest class, and the same number in the higher, is 66 per cent.

"Of seventeen persons filling the most responsible situations in the mills, ten have grown up in the establishment from common laborers or apprentices.

"This statement does not include an importation of sixty-three persons from Manchester, in England, in 1839. Among these persons, there was scarcely one who could read or write, and, although a part of them had been accustomed to work in cotton mills, yet, either from incapacity or idleness, they were unable to earn sufficient to pay for their subsistence, and at the expiration of a few weeks, not more than half a dozen remained in our employment.

"In some of the print works, a large proportion of the operatives are foreigners. Those who are employed in the branches which require a considerable degree of skill, are as well educated as our people in similar situations. But the common laborers, as a class, are without any education, and their average earnings are about two thirds only of those of *our* lowest classes, although the prices paid to each are the same, for the same amount of work.

"Among the men and boys employed in our machine shops, the want of education is quite rare; indeed, I do not know an instance of a person who is unable to read and write, and many have had a good common-school education. To this may be attributed the fact, that a large proportion of persons who fill the higher and more responsible situations, came from this class of workmen.

"From these statements, you will be able to form some estimate, in dollars and cents, at least, of the advantages even of a little education to the operative; and there is not the least doubt that the employer is equally benefited. He has the security for his property that intelligence, good morals, and a just appreciation of the regulations of his establishment, always

afford. His machinery and mills, which constitute a large part of his capital, are in the hands of persons, who, by their skill, are enabled to use them to their utmost capacity, and to prevent any unnecessary depreciation.

"Each operative in a cotton mill may be supposed to represent from one thousand to twelve hundred dollars of the capital invested in the mill and its machinery. It is only from the most diligent and economical use of this capital that the proprietor can expect a profit. A fraction less than one half of the cost of manufacturing common cotton goods, when a mill is in full operation, is made up of charges which are permanent. If the product is reduced in the ratio of the capacity of the two classes of operatives mentioned in this statement, it will be seen that the cost will be increased in a compound ratio.

"My belief is, that the best cotton mill in New England, with such operatives only as the forty-five mentioned above, who are unable to write their names, would never yield the proprietor a profit; that the machinery would soon be worn out, and he would be left, in a short time, with a population no better than that which is represented, as I suppose, very fairly, by the importation from England." — pp. 90–92.

To the same effect writes Mr. Clark, Superintendent of the Merrimack Mills, at Lowell.

"During the last eight years, I have had under my superintendence upon an average about fifteen hundred persons of both sexes. I have found, with very few exceptions, the best educated among my hands to be the most capable, intelligent, energetic, industrious, economical, and moral; that they produce the best work, and the most of it, with the least injury to the machinery. They are, in all respects, the most useful, profitable, and the safest of our operatives; and, as a class, they are more thrifty and more apt to accumulate property for themselves.

"I have recently instituted some inquiries into the comparative wages of our different classes of operatives; and among other results, I find the following applicable to our present purpose. On our Pay-Roll for the last month, are borne the names of twelve thousand and twenty-nine female operatives, forty of whom receipted for their pay by 'making their mark.' Twenty-six of these have been employed in job-work, that is, they were paid according to the quantity of work turned off from their machines. The average pay of these twenty-six falls 18½ per cent. below the general average of those engaged in the same departments.

"Again, we have in our mills about one hundred and fifty

females who have, at some time, been engaged in *teaching schools*. Many of them teach during the summer months, and work in the mills in winter. The average wages of these ex-teachers I find to be $17\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. *above the general average of our mills, and about* 40 *per cent. above the wages of the twenty-six who cannot write their names.* It may be said, that they are generally employed in the higher departments, where the pay is better. This is true, but this again may be, in most cases, fairly attributed to their better education, which brings us to the same result. If I had included in my calculations, the remaining fourteen of the forty, who are mostly sweepers and scrubbers, and who are paid by the day, the contrasts would have been still more striking ; but having no well-educated females engaged in this department with whom to compare them, I have omitted them altogether. In arriving at the above results I have considered the *net wages* merely, — the price of board being in all cases the same. I do not consider these results as either extraordinary, or surprising, but as a part only of the legitimate and proper fruits of a better cultivation and fuller developement of the intellectual and moral powers." — pp. 98, 99.

We limit ourselves to one more extract, and we will take it from Mr. Mann's admirable observations on this class of facts.

"Why is it that, so far as this Union is concerned, four-fifths of all the improvements, inventions, and discoveries, in regard to machinery, to agricultural implements, to superior models in ship-building, and to the manufacture of those refined instruments on which accuracy in scientific observations depends, have originated in New England. I believe no adequate reason can be assigned, but the early awakening and training of the power of thought in our children. The suggestion is not made invidiously, but in this connexion it has too important a bearing to be omitted, — but let any one, who has resided or travelled in those States where there are no common schools, compare the condition of the people at large, as to thrift, order, neatness, and all the external signs of comfort and competence, with the same characteristics of civilization in the farm-houses and villages of New England. These contrasts exist, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil and the abundance of mineral resources, in the former States, as compared with the sterile surface and granite substratum of the latter. Never was a problem more clearly demonstrated, than that even a moderate degree of intelligence, diffused through

the mass of the people, is more than an equivalent for all the prodigality of nature. It is said, indeed, in regard to those States where there are no provisions for general education, that the want of energy and forecast, the absence of labor-saving contrivances and an obtuseness in adapting means to ends, are the consequences of a system of involuntary servitude ; but what is this, so far as productiveness is concerned, but a want of knowledge, — what is it but the existence of that mental imbecility and torpor, which arise from personal and hereditary neglect ? In conversing with a gentleman, who had possessed most extensive opportunities for acquaintance with men of different countries and of all degrees of intellectual developement, he observed, that he could employ a common immigrant or a slave, and, if he chose, could direct him to shovel a heap of sand from one spot to another, and then back into its former place, and so to and fro, through the day ; and that, with the same food or the same pay, the laborer would perform this tread-mill operation without inquiry or complaint ; but, added he, neither love nor money would prevail on a New-Englander to prosecute a piece of work of which he did not see the utility. There is scarcely any kind of labor, however simple or automatic, which can be so well performed without knowledge in the workman, as with it. It is impossible for an overseer or employer, at all times to supply mind to the laborer. In giving directions for the shortest series or train of operations, something will be omitted or misunderstood ; and, without intelligence in the workman, the omission or the mistake will be repeated in the execution.*

" * It once happened to me, while travelling in one of the southwestern States, to visit an edifice of a public character, then almost completed. The building had a great number of apartments, which were to be warmed by means of a furnace placed in the cellar, after the manner in which most of our hospitals and large public edifices are warmed. Accordingly, one set of flues had been constructed for conveying the heated and pure air into all the apartments, and another set for conveying the foul air upward into the attic. So far it was well. But unfortunately for the transmission of the air in an upward current and for its escape from the attic when it should arrive there, the roof was completely closed in, neither window, sky-light, nor aperture of any kind being left, through which it could find egress. The edifice had been built *from a plan*, and without a knowledge of principles. I regret to add, that it was a State institution, and had been erected under a Board of Commissioners appointed by the Executive ; and much delay and probably great suffering was endured before the building could be fitted for the reception and occupancy of any class of beings, dependent on breathing for existence. This was a very striking case, but every unintelligent man will make mistakes every day of his life, which are as important to him, and perhaps as ludicrous in the sight of others, as was this attempt of a Commonwealth, to ventilate a building where sixty or seventy persons were constantly to reside, by packing all the impure air

"It is a fact of universal notoriety, that the manufacturing population of England, as a class, work for half, or less than half, the wages of our own. The cost of machinery there, also, is but about half as much as the cost of the same articles with us; while our capital, when loaned, produces nearly double the rate of English interest. Yet, against these grand adverse circumstances, our manufacturers, with a small percentage of tariff, successfully compete with English capitalists, in many branches of manufacturing business. No explanation can be given of this extraordinary fact, which does not take into the account the difference of education between the operatives in the two countries. Yet where, in all our Congressional debates upon this subject, or in the discussions and addresses of National Conventions, has this fundamental principle been brought out, — and one, at least, of its most important and legitimate inferences displayed, viz. that it is our wisest policy, as citizens, — if indeed it be not a duty of self-preservation as men, — to improve the education of our whole people, both in its quantity and quality. I have been told by one of our most careful and successful manufacturers, that, on substituting, in one of his cotton mills, a better for a poorer educated class of operatives, he was enabled to add twelve or fifteen per cent. to the speed of his machinery, without any increase of damage or danger from the acceleration. How direct and demonstrative the bearing, which facts like this have upon the wisdom of our law respecting the education of children in manufacturing establishments! What prominency and cogency do they give to the argument for obeying it, if not from motives of humanity, at least from those of policy and self-interest! I am sorry to say, that this benignant and parental law is still, in some cases, openly disregarded; and that there are employers amongst us, who say, that if their hands come punctually to their work, and continue at it during the regular hours, it is immaterial to them what private character they sustain, and whether they attend the evening school or the lyceum lecture on the week day, or go to church on the Sabbath.

"The number of females in this State, engaged in the various manufactures of cotton, straw-platting, &c., has been estimated at forty thousand; and the annual value of their labor, at one hundred dollars each, on an average, or four millions of dollars for the whole. From the facts stated in the letters of Messrs. Mills and Clark, above cited, it appears that there is a differ-

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snugly away in the garret! Nature will not abate one tittle of her laws, even to the mightiest earthly sovereign; but when the humblest individual obtains a knowledge of their exact and immutable operations, she protects him with her ægis, and enriches him with all her bounties."

ence of not less than fifty per cent. between the earnings of the least educated and of the best educated operatives, — between those who make their marks, instead of writing their names, and those who have been acceptably employed in school-keeping. Now suppose the whole forty thousand females engaged in the various kinds of manufactures in this Commonwealth to be degraded to the level of the lowest class, it would follow that their aggregate earnings would fall at once to two millions of dollars. But, on the other hand, suppose them all to be elevated by mental cultivation to the rank of the highest, and their earnings would rise to the sum of six millions of dollars annually.

"I institute no comparison in regard to the company imported from England, who, though accustomed to work in the mills of Manchester, could not earn their living here.

"These remarks, in regard to other States or countries, emanate from no boastful or vain-glorious spirit. They come from a very different mood of mind, for I have the profoundest conviction, — and could fill much space with facts that would justify it, — that other communities do not fall short of our own, so much as we fall short of what we might easily become." — pp. 108 – 112.

We congratulate the friends of this cause upon two important measures of the last General Court of Massachusetts ; the provisions made for the support of Normal Schools, and for the establishment of School District Libraries. Three years ago, Mr. Edmund Dwight, of Boston, offered ten thousand dollars to the Commonwealth, on the condition that an equal sum should be furnished from the Treasury, for the maintenance, for three years, of three Normal Schools, for the instruction of common-school teachers. The plan went prosperously into effect, and, the original means being now exhausted, the Legislature, at its last session, appropriated six thousand dollars a year, for continuing these schools three years longer. This gives opportunity for the experiment to justify itself by a full trial, and accordingly, in our opinion, amounts to an establishment of them in perpetuity. The other scheme, that of the establishment of School District Libraries, Massachusetts has not the praise of originating ; but, next to the merit of setting a good example, is that of following it promptly. New York established its common schools only thirty years ago, and already there is a small library in each of the ten or eleven thousand school dis-

tricts of that State, embracing in the aggregate nearly a million of volumes, so that a traveller cannot be stopped anywhere within its wide bounds, without being within two or three miles of some good reading. The appropriation, just made by Massachusetts for the same purpose, amounts to between thirty and forty thousand dollars, which is doubled by means of the condition, that each district shall contribute an equal sum to that furnished from the public fund.

ART. X. — *Organic Chemistry in its Applications to Agriculture and Physiology*, by JUSTUS LIEBIG, M. D., Ph. D., F. R. S., M. R. I. A., &c. Professor of Chemistry in the University of Giessen. Edited from the Manuscript of the Author, by LYON PLAYFAIR, Ph. D. *First American Edition, with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendix*, by JOHN W. WEBSTER, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in Harvard University. Second American Edition. Cambridge: John Owen. 1841. 12mo. pp. 424.

WE welcome the appearance of a second American edition of this work, as indicative of the general interest attached to scientific views of agriculture in this country, as well as of the determination of the public to second the efforts of scientific men in making their knowledge and studies useful to mankind; and the decidedly favorable reception, by all classes, in various parts of the world, of such a treatise, is a proof how extremely desirable had become the developement of some sound general principles of action in agriculture, and how difficult or impossible it had hitherto been to deduce such useful general principles from the mere customs which have obtained, or from the experiments of the practical farmer, unassisted by the severe discriminations, or the matured experience and judgment, of science.

The great value of the coöperation of science consists in the concentration of all the powers of the mind on one specific object. The chemist never undertakes an experiment without a certain definite end always kept in view, and he takes every measure his ingenuity and experience can suggest to obtain clear and decisive results; watching at the same time with the utmost care, any appearances which may lead to further information unconnected with this end.

The farmer, on the other hand, tries various experiments without sufficient examination of the primary conditions, without keeping careful watch on their progress, and with comparatively uncertain judgments on the results.

Thus if the chemist wished to produce muscle on an animal, he would first examine the constituent parts, and if nitrogen were ascertained as a chief ingredient, he would endeavour to procure such agreeable food for the animal as would yield the largest portion of nitrogen with its other materials. Again, if it be required to find this vegetable, containing a large quantity of nitrogen, he would analyze various kinds of vegetables fit for the nutriment of the animal, and select the one proper for his trial ; and in treating the soil for the luxuriant production of this vegetable, he would take care that it should contain a superabundance of nitrogen from which the growing plant would supply itself. His experiment might succeed or might fail ; but it is clear that this method of inductive reasoning, this preparation of conditions, would afford a better chance of success than the blind operations of the farmer.

Hence, such works as the present are highly valuable not only as means of disseminating knowledge, but also as means of inducing those habits and trains of thinking among agriculturists, which may enable them to act and judge for themselves on objects of advantage to them, and readily to discern between true knowledge and empiricism.

It is evident, however, that we are but just entering on a field of inquiry of immense extent, and of infinite value.

The scheme of analysis of various vegetables has hitherto been shaped by the chemist chiefly for philosophical purposes and research ; that which is formed for agricultural purposes must evidently vary from this considerably.

Simple incineration will give the fixed alkalies and the earths, incineration in contact with deutoxide of copper will give the carbon, and the ultimate principles into which vegetables can be resolved ; treatment with alcohol and ether will give the gums, resins, and the other proximate principles into which they may be separated, many of which, as quinine, morphia, &c., are useful to mankind. But the vegetable juices existing in the living plant are so exceedingly delicate, so very susceptible of transformation, by the addition or abstraction of minute portions of oxygen, &c., and by the action of heat and light,

that only very general and indefinite ideas on the subject of their nutriment can be obtained from these sources.

The future developement of the science of vegetable analysis will no doubt exhibit the means of examining the fresh juices of plants, expressed from their various parts, both previously and subsequently to their alteration by the functions of the leaves or flowers ; for it is certain, that the nearer we approximate the examination of these juices to their absorption from the earth by the roots, the more clear ideas we shall obtain of the requisites and conditions for their formation and production.

The following extract from the concluding lecture of M. Dumas, in his Course at the School of Medicine in Paris, which has excited general admiration, will show the attention now paid to Liebig's comparatively new views of the relations of the vegetable kingdom.

"Have we not proved in fact, by a multitude of results, that animals constitute, in a chemical point of view, a real apparatus for combustion, by means of which burnt carbon incessantly returns to the atmosphere under the form of carbonic acid ; in which hydrogen, burnt without ceasing, on its part continually engenders water ; whence, in fine, free azote is incessantly exhaled by respiration, and azote in the state of oxide of ammonium by the urine ?

"Thus from the animal kingdom, considered collectively, constantly escape carbonic acid, water, in the state of vapor, azote, oxide of ammonium ; simple substances, and few in number, the formation of which is strictly connected with the history of the air itself. Have we not, on the other hand, proved that plants, in their normal life, decompose carbonic acid for the purpose of fixing its carbon, and of disengaging its oxygen ; that they decompose water to combine with its hydrogen, and to disengage also its oxygen ; that, in fine, they sometimes borrow azote directly from the air, and sometimes indirectly from the oxide of ammonium or from nitric acid, thus working, in every case, in a manner the inverse of that which is peculiar to animals ?

"If the animal kingdom constitutes an immense apparatus for combustion, the vegetable kingdom, in its turn, constitutes an immense apparatus for reduction, in which reduced carbonic acid yields its carbon, reduced water its hydrogen, and in which also reduced oxide of ammonium and nitric acid yield their ammonium or their azote.

"If animals, then, continually produce carbonic acid, water,

azote, oxide of ammonium, plants incessantly consume oxide of ammonium, azote, water, carbonic acid. What one class of beings gives to the air, the other takes back from it. . . . . Thus plants and animals come from the air, and thus to it they return ; they are real dependents on the atmosphere.

"Plants, then, incessantly take from the air what is given to it by animals, that is to say, carbon, hydrogen, and azote, or rather carbonic acid, water, and ammonia.

"It now remains to be stated how, in their turn, animals acquire those elements which they restore to the atmosphere ; and we cannot see without admiration the sublime simplicity of all these laws of nature, that animals always borrow these elements from plants themselves.

"We have indeed ascertained, from the most satisfactory results, that animals do not create true organic matters, but that they destroy them ; that plants, on the contrary, habitually create these matters, and that they destroy but few of them, and this, in order to effectuate particular and determinate conditions. Thus it is in the vegetable kingdom, that the great laboratory of organic life is placed; there it is, that the vegetable and animal matters are formed, and there they are produced at the expense of the air. From vegetables these matters pass, ready formed, into the herbivorous animals, which destroy a portion of them, and accumulate the remainder in their tissues ; from herbivorous animals they pass, ready formed, into the carnivorous animals, who destroy or retain some of them according to their wants ; lastly, during the life of these animals, or after their death, these organic matters, as they are destroyed, return to the atmosphere whence they proceeded.

"Thus closes this mysterious circle of organic life at the surface of the globe. The air contains or engenders oxidized products, as carbonic acid, water, nitric acid, oxide of ammonium. Plants, constituting a true reducing apparatus, possess themselves of their radicals, carbon, hydrogen, azote, ammonium. With these radicals, they form all the organic or organizable matters which they yield to animals. These in their turn, forming a true apparatus for combustion, reproduce carbonic acid, water, oxide of ammonium, and nitric acid, which return to the air to produce anew, and through endless ages, the same phenomena."

The discovery of Liebig, of the supply of ammonia or nitrogen to plants from rain-water and snow, will probably be carried to a much further extent, and involve points of great value to agriculture. Already has it been found in Germany, that several seeds of Alpine plants, particularly of some Gentians,

whose germination has hitherto been attended with much difficulty, will grow readily if sown in contact with snow. Now ammonia does not easily evaporate from water at the temperature of snow ; hence these seeds, shed on the surface of the earth, naturally remain a long time in contact with a substance (snow) containing a small quantity of ammonia ; and, indeed, it is not impossible that some of the integuments of seeds, of which, except as a covering, the use is not at present very apparent, may be constructed with a view of serving for absorption, or for some other action in relation to substances requisite for their germination. Many unsuccessful attempts have been made here to raise plants of *Gentiana crinita*, of *Gerardia*, and of *Eucroma*, from seed gathered in the autumn and sown in the spring ; the probable cause of the failure, according to the above statement, should be the want of the condition, under which it is sown naturally, that is, contact with snow. The seed of *Gerardia* has a beautiful and peculiar cellular integument.

It is, in fact, impossible at present to divine what may be the results of the attention to these subjects, to which this work has given rise ; that they will be generally beneficial admits of no doubt. It is pleasant to reflect on the general feeling of common brotherhood and citizenship, which such beneficial discoveries engender amongst individuals of various nations. How different are the emotions they produce from those which arise from the discoveries, miscalled improvements, in the savage art of war ; and what fond anticipations is the philanthropist led to indulge, of the early universal conversion of the sword and the gun into the plough-share and the reaping-hook, and of saltpetre into a powerful manure.

Like all other new propositions offered for assent to the mind, those contained in Liebig's work will have to pass through the severe ordeal of the judgment, both of the experienced and of the inexperienced, both of the chemist and of the practical agriculturist, and much criticism has already been applied, and much opposition exhibited, to several of his doctrines. Still, no chemist of fixed reputation in Europe has yet ventured to assail the chemical principles there laid down ; and, if true, they will work their own way. With respect to the agriculturist, it must be remembered, that this book was written by a chemist for chemists, not by a farmer for farmers ; these last have yet something to learn,

before they can fully perceive the force of much of the reasoning, although they may readily apply to practice many of the facts therein stated.

One of the most fertile themes of discussion has been the substance called *humus*, or *geine;* whether in its complex state, or resolved, perhaps converted, into humic acid, crenic acid, apocrenic acid, &c. Now Liebig's statements appear simply confined to these assertions;

First; that humus is not present in fertile soils in a *soluble* form, as these soils do not yield any thing to cold water, except traces of inorganic salts. Humus, even in the most trifling quantity, would color the water brown, whereas water in which these soils have been digested, is completely colorless; moreover, the juices absorbed by roots from these soils are also free from color. Admitting even that the humus of the soil were converted into humate of lime, the existence of which therein has, however, still to be proved, plants could only derive from this source a very small portion of the carbon they contain.

Secondly; that on a given surface, either of woodland or meadow, from which large crops containing considerable carbon are annually removed without any replacement by manure, the soil becomes yearly richer in carbon under the form of humus or geine. These facts being demonstrated, it is scarcely possible to believe, that plants derive their carbon by absorption directly from humus or humic acid, an acid which, by the way, has never yet been discovered in soils, and is obviously a product of the decomposition of humus by alkalies.

We cannot doubt, that the true function of humus, or rather mould, is to yield a constant supply of carbonic acid to plants, when we are taught, by the beautiful experiments of Davy, that they decompose this gas in large quantities.

So far is Liebig from denying the use of humus by his assertion that plants derive their great supply of carbonic acid from the atmosphere, that he merely asserts, that it does not act by direct absorption, but constitutes a source of carbonic acid, so constant, so gradual, so abundant, and, above all, so economical, that probably the utmost efforts of science will never discover one superior. Considered in this view, we cannot sufficiently admire the perfection of the provision, thus made by means so simple, for the abundant supply of the principal food of plants.

It is not worth while to notice the denial which has been made of the origin of nitrogen in plants from rain-water ; the fact of ammonia existing in this medium, and in snow, having been sufficiently proved by scientific inquiry, both here and in Europe ; nor need we defend the very evident origin of a considerable portion of this ammonia from the decay and dissolution (styled *eremacausis* by our author) of animal organization. This latter fact, indeed, forms an essential link in the wonderful chain of decay and reproduction, which it was one of his principal objects to trace, and which is so well delineated in the foregoing extract from the lecture of Dumas.

It is admitted, that Liebig does not claim to be the discoverer of the existence of ammonia in rain-water. This was known, even here, before his book appeared ; but he may justly claim the application of this and many other facts, which are now admitted without doubt into all considerations of vegetable physiology, such as the preservation of the purity of the atmosphere by the reproduction, by vegetables, of the oxygen consumed by animals, and the necessity of mineral or inorganic substances as food for plants. These, although to a degree known previously, have been placed by him in such new lights, and so many additional facts have been adduced, as have rendered them facts of sufficient certainty to guide the practical or experimental agriculturist. His statements concerning the amount of carbon annually removed from a given surface of ground in the shape of fuel, cannot be controverted ; and where the forests are, as in Germany, under the most rigid control and scientific management, his authority cannot be doubted.

With respect to *guano*, the analyses made by the chemists, to whom he refers, Klaproth, Vauquelin, Wohlen, and Boussingault, were certainly not made with the article in its fresh state ; and although it is not impossible, that this powerful manure may contain a portion of humus, yet this humus is not absorbed directly by plants ; and, were humus the chief cause of the powerful effect of this manure, there is yet more in inert peat mould.

Many of the most intelligent farmers in Germany have already testified to the value of the new views disseminated by Liebig, nor can it be much doubted, that, in proportion as they are spread here, they will be appreciated, and, as far as understood, applied practically.

The most valuable addition to this second edition is the extracts from the lectures of Dr. Daubeny on agriculture, in 1841, founded chiefly on this work of Liebig. In these, his principles, and their practical application, are fully discussed ; besides which, they contain the results of many experiments, undertaken as tests for the purpose of proving these principles.

These lectures are but the commencement of a history of the experiments, which are, or will be, instituted in all countries under the auspices of science, for the purpose of the economical increase of the produce of the soil ; a purpose launched forth into the broad ocean of human intellect by the writings of the present age, with an impetus far exceeding all our conceptions of material mechanics ; and which, in its course, gathering strength upon strength, bids fair not only to connect all mankind into one community of praise to the great Author of all for the simplicity, the beauty, the abundance of his works and his care, but to banish from the earth the mass of starvation and misery with which the unavoidable distinctions of poverty and riches seem almost to have overwhelmed its most fertile portions.

Art. XI. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — Sir Henry Cavendish's *Debates of the House of Commons, from May, 1768, to June, 1774 ; commonly called "The Unreported Parliament."*

It is known, that during an interesting period of British history, a period of six years from May, 1768, to June, 1774, no more than a very brief and meagre sketch of the debates in Parliament has been preserved. This blank was occasioned by a strict enforcement of the standing order for the exclusion of strangers from the gallery of the House. By a fortunate discovery, a series of manuscript reports of nearly all the principal debates during this period, taken down at the time by Sir Henry Cavendish, a member of Parliament has lately been brought to light. They are contained in forty-nine small quarto volumes. The discovery was made by Mr. J. Wright,

who undertook to arrange and prepare the whole for publication. The following is Sir Henry Cavendish's own account of his labors.

"My original design was to take down the heads only of the several speeches; but finding, by practice, even my inferior skill adequate to something rather more extensive, in the subsequent sessions of this Parliament the debates will be found more at large, except in the case of a few members, whose rapid delivery outran my ability to keep up with them. I am conscious of the many imperfections that will be found in them; some most certainly from inability; some from my peculiar and inconvenient situation at the time of writing them; and some, I am sorry to say, from the disorder that now and then used to prevail in the House, — where sometimes members, from an eagerness to hear others, or themselves, made so much noise as to drown the voice of the person speaking; sometimes premature applause for a former part of a sentence prevented the House from hearing the latter; and sometimes those favorite words, 'Hear! hear!' so frequently echoed through the House, forbade all hearing. Many gaps, many broken sentences, will be found; but even many of the broken sentences, I believe, will not be altogether useless. Several speeches of the most able members are very imperfect; many *sublime and beautiful* passages are lost, I fear, for ever: the only comfort I have is, that I believe I have preserved more than the memory of any individual has. I have not, in the smallest degree, certainly not wilfully, altered or misrepresented the sentiments of any one member."

The great value of these papers will be more fully understood by the following extracts from the Editor's prospectus.

"It may be gratifying to the subscribers to state, that the collection contains upwards of two hundred speeches of Mr. Burke which have never seen the light; together with a number of the most valuable speeches of Mr. George Grenville, Lorth North, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Thurlow, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Fox, Colonel Barré, Mr., afterwards Chief Justice, Blackstone, Alderman Beckford, Sergeant Glynn, Mr. Dowdeswell, Lord John Cavendish, Sir George Saville, &c. It embraces the whole of the stirring period of the publication of the Letters of Junius, and exhibits the feeling which prevailed in the House and in the country, previous to the unhappy contest which took place between Great Britain and her American Colonies. Among many others, it contains discussions on the following important subjects; — Expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, Middlesex Election, Privilege of Parliament, Trials of Controverted Elections, Informations *ex officio* by the Attorney-General, Liberty of the Press, Power and Duties of Juries, Law of Libel, Rights of Electors, Salaries of Judges, Affairs of the East India Company, Proceedings against the Printers for publishing the Speeches of Members, Duration of Parliaments, Coin and Currency, Criminal Laws, Royal Marriage, Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, Civil List, Copyright, Corn Laws, Poor Laws, Administration of Justice in Massachusetts Bay, Boston Port Bill, Quebec Government Bill, &c. Of this period, Gibbon thus speaks in his Memoirs; — 'The cause

of Government was ably vindicated by Lord North, a consummate master of debate, who could wield, with equal dexterity, the arms of reason and of ridicule. He was seated on the treasury bench, between his Attorney and Solicitor General, the two pillars of the law and State, *magis pares quam similes;* and the minister might indulge in a short slumber, whilst he was upholden on either hand by the majestic sense of Thurlow, and the skilful eloquence of Wedderburn. From the adverse side of the House, an ardent and powerful Opposition was supported by the lively declamation of Barré, the legal acuteness of Dunning, the profuse and philosophic fancy of Burke, and the argumentative vehemence of Fox. By such men, every operation of peace and war, every principle of justice or policy, every question of authority and freedom, was attacked and defended, and the subject of the momentous contest was the union or separation of Great Britain and America.'

"A peculiar feature of these debates is, that they were all reported by one person, who was a member of the House, and therefore not liable to be turned out in the middle of a speech; and who had no inducement to undergo the immense labor, but the honorable desire of possessing a faithful record of the proceedings of the time. By the publication of this collection, the proceedings of a Parliament, which has hitherto been called 'THE UNREPORTED PARLIAMENT,' will, at the end of seventy years, be more fully recorded, by the talent and perseverance of one of its own members, than any portion of the Parliamentary History of this country, previously to the relaxation of the standing order of the House of Commons for the exclusion of strangers."

The work will be completed in sixteen parts, making four volumes in royal octavo, printed uniformly with THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND. It is but partial justice to say of the volume before us, — the only one which has as yet been published, — that it more than answers the high expectation which the above notices are calculated to excite. Mr. Wright has executed his task with good judgment and skill. He has enriched the text with frequent notes, consisting of matter well selected and well applied, and throwing much light on the actors and events of the time. We cannot but regard this work as an important accession, as well to the history of the United States as to that of England. It has brought out for the first time, and in an ample form, many of the transactions of the British Parliament on American affairs in the early stages of the Revolution, and contains the opinions of the great British statesmen on the topics which were then agitating the minds of all parties in the two countries.

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2. — *Thoughts on Moral and Spiritual Culture.* By R. C. Waterston. Boston: Crocker & Ruggles, and Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1842. 16mo. pp. 317.

The author of this work is a young clergyman, who devotes moral and intellectual powers of no common order to the noble duty of preaching the gospel to the poor, in the city of Boston; and most of the contents of this volume have grown out of the strong interest which his vocation has given him in religious education, especially of the young. Works proceeding from such a source, and written for such an object, deserve a praise higher than any which literary criticism awards; and the end aimed at imparts its dignity even to imperfect means and instruments. But independently of this consideration, Mr. Waterston's book has literary merit enough to challenge the same principles of criticism as we apply to those whose themes are drawn from the passions and follies of mankind. The work is made up of prose and poetry. In the prose part, which occupies most of the volume, there is an Introduction, and essays or lectures on Childhood, Growth of the Mind, Religious Education, Diffusion of Christianity through Sunday Schools, Moral and Spiritual Culture in Day Schools, the Influence of Home, the Culture of the Imagination, the Love of Nature, and the Death of Children; also an Address before the Teachers of Boston. These are linked together by several pleasing pieces of poetry, that harmonize in sentiment and feeling with the prose.

Mr. Waterston's style is ardent and glowing; such as belongs to a man of strong religious feeling and warm sensibility. A deep interest in the welfare of mankind gives fervor to his eloquence and earnestness to his appeals. Without any marked profoundness or originality of thought, he is rich in that wisdom of the heart which instinctively leads the head aright, and from his own experience and observation he has learned many practical truths. The sense of duty in parents and teachers may be strengthened and elevated by contemplating the high standard which he holds up to them. His style has the great merit of being an earnest one, and there are many passages which rise into genuine eloquence and the glow of poetry. From his felicity of illustration and his persuasiveness of manner, we should deem his volume especially useful to persons who are desirous of improving themselves and their children, but who have not read much or thought much upon the topics he discusses.

Mr. Waterston's style, so far as its literary merit is concerned, might be improved by somewhat pruning its luxuri-

ance and compressing its diffuseness. His practice of extemporaneous speaking has probably led him to form the habit of paraphrasing and reproducing the same thought in a variety of forms; a habit against which he must be on his guard when he writes. This quality of style, however, may render the work more useful to a large class of readers, whose limited cultivation requires truth to be much expanded and illustrated before it can be profitably received.

An extract or two will give our readers a correct impression of the spirit and objects of this work. We take a few paragraphs from an essay "On the Culture of the Imagination."

"And now we would add, that the imagination should be addressed in general studies. In Biography, in Geography, in History, as well as in all those studies that relate to nature. How much more will a child enjoy History, if, instead of dates, statistics, and meagre details, the events themselves can be brought before his mind. That which has passed away will seem present, and all may be presented as a life-like and vivid reality. History may be made the dullest, or the most interesting study; a sepulchre filled with departed events, or the living past moving in vigor before us. A child may study a synopsis of events, and know as little of the world's movements as if he had committed to memory a merchant's ledger. We do not wish history mingled with fancy, or colored in false hues; neither do we wish it in skeleton nakedness. Let it be reality. When the child hears or reads of past events, bring the whole scene before him. Let him feel that he can see it. Give him the customs, the appearance of the country; — the workings of the mind; — the idea that was evolving itself. Then it will not be a mere phantasmagoria, but body and mind. Then emperors, and popes, and abbots, and monks, and Scandinavian chiefs, and pilgrims with shells and staffs of ivory, would stand before us, and we should behold also the feeble, the neglected, the peasant, and the child.

"Let the young see, moreover, the progress of the past, from barbarism to civilization. Let them see the difference between savage life and Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Christian civilization. Show them Man as the child of the Ages, — working out by severest toil his high destiny; grappling with difficulties; struggling through darkness; now driven back, but again pressing forward into higher and nobler life. History might thus be given, and the grand ideas of past movements in some measure brought out. We should then feel as if we had seen and held intercourse with Jewish pontiffs, Roman orators, Scotch covenanters, and Pilgrim fathers. We should behold them in their lives, and understand what they did, or sought to do, and what we have gained by their efforts. It is said by Macaulay, in his magnificent article on Hallam's 'Constitutional History,' that 'History should be a compound of poetry and philosophy, impressing general truths on the mind by a vivid representation of particular characters and incidents. While our historians,' he says, 'are practising all the arts of controversy, they miserably neglect the art of narration, the art of interesting the affections, and presenting pictures to the imagina-

tion. That a writer may produce these effects without violating truth, is sufficiently proved by many excellent biographical works. The instruction derived from history thus written, would be of a vivid and practical character. It would be received by the imagination as well as by the reason. It would be not merely traced on the mind, but branded into it. Many truths, too, would be learned, which can be learned in no other manner.'

"The same remarks apply generally to Geography. Names, statistics, latitude and longitude, give but a poor idea to the young mind. Let them see, in thought, the icy shores of the north, and the perpetual verdure of the tropics; the desert sand, the rocky coast, the prairie, and the wilderness; the foaming cataract, which leaps into the abyss; and the river, which, in its long course, mirrors mountain crags, fields, and meadows, the quiet village and populous city. In speaking of any country, let the idea of that country be presented as distinctly as possible. Bring before the mind not only its general outlines, but the character of its vegetation, the manners of the people, the aspect of the scenery, and the characteristics of thought and trade, whether in literature or the arts, commerce or manufacturing. Then will there be an understanding of things, and not merely a recollection of words. Much has of late been accomplished in this way to facilitate study, and much more, we doubt not, will yet be done. The same remarks which have been made in relation to history and geography, will apply in a great measure to geology, botany, and the various branches of natural history. If mere scientific terms are brought together, all will be dry and dead; but if we will take the terms and connect them with nature, we shall gain our end. Barren rules and unintelligible phrases may be retained by the memory, but of how much more value are they if connected with clear thought, and a full understanding of their connexion with reality. We can hardly be surprised, that Herder reverently exclaimed, 'My God! how dry and withered a thing many people figure to themselves the soul of a child!' And no wonder that it should be withered and dry, if it is made a mere storehouse of names, instead of ideas; of sound without sense, and shadows without substance. Let realities be taught, as well as technicalities, and, in the place of abstruse generalizations, there will be vivid perception and practical knowledge." — pp. 242–246.

The following is a pleasing specimen of the poetry.

"THE MOTHER AND HER CHILD.

"[Göthe relates, that he met, in the Campagna of Rome, a young woman nursing her child, seated on the remains of an ancient column. He questioned her on the ruins with which her dwelling was surrounded: she was ignorant of every thing concerning them, being wholly devoted to the affections which filled her soul; she loved, and to her the present moment was the whole of existence.]

"Temples, and monuments, and crumbling fanes,
Altars, and broken shafts are scattered round;
Ages long past have sanctified these plains,
And stamped this sacred spot as classic ground,
While Art and Genius here their home have found! —
But see! where these old sculptured marbles rest,
A mother clasps her infant to her breast;

She seeks not here to learn what minds unknown
Carved these immortal forms in breathing stone;
She smiles in joy upon her infant fair,
And that sweet babe, to her glad spirit, seems
Holier than sculptured forms or poets' dreams;
And in such bliss, oh! wherefore should she care
Who reared those shafts, by whom those towers were piled?
The present fills her soul, — her heart is with her child!"
— pp. 197, 198.

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3. — *Tales and Souvenirs of a Residence in Europe.* By a Lady of Virginia. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1842.

Unpretending as the title and introduction are, which herald this little volume to the world, they are still more modest in what they withhold from the public, than in what they express. It might have been proclaimed, that these were the souvenirs of one whose lot was cast among the great in station and in talent; an habitual associate of families whose names are historical, and of men whom Fame has claimed as her own. But the modesty of the announcement does better justice to the character of the author and of her work. The public is her debtor for a tasteful, interesting, and refined book; free entirely from any of the mannerism or affectations of the day, written in a chaste but polished style, and abounding in lively and picturesque passages.

The book is, as the title implies, a souvenir of Europe in the form of tales, of which there are three, having no other connexion with each other than that they are the thread on which the writer has strung her pearls of description.

With one exception, the scenes are laid entirely in Europe; but this exception gives, we think, an additional charm to the book. In the first story, a lover crosses the Atlantic in search of his mistress. While travelling in Virginia, he is overtaken by a violent storm, and is led by a young Indian girl into one of those marvellous caves which abound in the Old Dominion. We cite the entire passage which describes this sublime cavern.

"Medwyn advanced, and to his astonishment found, that they were now emerging from a small apartment that appeared only an antechamber to a long suite of rooms leading in various directions, whose almost interminable height and magnificent size were undistinguishable by the imperfect lights carried by his conductress and himself. The blaze of the torches threw their fitful beams upon the walls, which sparkled as if tapestried with cloth of gold inwrought with myriads of

costly gems, while lustres that depended from the ceiling glowed with the prismatic brilliancy of diamonds. The superb columns, — the gleaming white of groups of colossal statuary, — of vases of alabaster, — of candelabras, — of girandoles, — of curtains sweeping with heavy and graceful folds, — even the outlines of a throne, — all flitted in shadowy forms before him, but more like the unearthly phantoms of departed grandeur than the real accompaniments of a kingly palace, and seemed sadly mingled with funereal monuments, which arose in the vast space, with ghost-like whiteness, as the distant light fell on them, and whose dark shadows seemed to reproach them with permitting even that faint smile to illumine their obscurity."

Let us now turn to a scene the very opposite of this, — one of the *salons* of the noble Faubourg.

"The rich gilding of the vaulted ceilings, the size and magnificence of the mirrors that covered the walls, save where rich specimens of Italian art occupied a portion of the space; the draperies of crimson velvet with their deep fringes of gold, and above all the costly luxury of the superb carpeting and tapestry of the finest Gobelin work, displayed the luxurious taste of the possessor of the mansion. The evening had closed in, and the rich lustres and *or moulu* candelabras threw their brilliant light around, — but the splendid apartments were still unoccupied. At length a light step approached, and the fairy form of Estelle St. Helène was reflected again and again by the brilliant mirrors around her.

"With a slow and uncertain step, she passed through the gorgeous suite of rooms, and paused not until she reached a small apartment at the extremity. Bestowing a slight glance on the delicate tapestry of folds of white satin that draped the walls, and the exquisite gems of art, both in painting and statuary, with which it was adorned, she approached the mosaic table, surmounted by a Sèvres vase of the rarest workmanship, filled with exotic flowers, which, even more than the softened moonlight lustre shed through vases of alabaster, marked the *boudoir*."

The tales are graceful, interesting, and well contrived. We shall not attempt any analysis of them ; but recommend them to our readers, with the certainty that, if they begin to read, they will not lay down the book till they have finished it.

We have remarked, that the book deserves high praise for what it withholds, as well as for what it gives. No American who has ever written about Europe, has enjoyed better opportunities, than our author, of catering for the rapacious appetite of a sorry portion of our countrymen, for the gossip of high life in Europe. She might have run over the whole gamut of personalities, from the commission merchant of New York up to the residents of the Tuileries, or the more aristocratic fixtures of the Faubourg St. Germain. But with these attractions she does not seek to win popularity ; the book is entirely guiltless of any such piracies upon private life or public station ; it

shows that the writer is equally free from the rawness which is ignorant of, and the impudence which disregards, those rules of society which have authority in no one country, but which belong to the law of nations, and are founded in a universal sense of right.

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4. — *Lectures on Modern History, from the Irruption of the Northern Nations to the Close of the American Revolution.* By William Smyth, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. From the Second London Edition, with a *Preface*, *List of Books on American History*, &c. By Jared Sparks, LL. D., Professor of Ancient and Modern History in the University of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Cambridge: John Owen. 2 vols. 8vo. 1841.

We are glad to see an American edition of this work, which, whether we regard the topics treated, the manner of the discussion, or the ability, judgment, and liberal spirit of the author, is certainly one of the best that have recently appeared. In fact, we know of no work in the language of a similar character. Fully aware of the want, which students and readers of history have hitherto felt, of some guide by which they may select the best authorities and form a proper estimate of the comparative importance of periods and events, Professor Smyth has conceived and carried out a plan for supplying this want in the study of modern history. His purpose is to teach how history should be read ; to show the way, and furnish lights for pursuing it. In this purpose he has been eminently successful.

Each lecture embraces some general topic, some prominent period of history, to which his attention is chiefly drawn, descending to details only so far as they are requisite to illustrate the higher points of his subject. His method is natural and clear ; his remarks are often profound, always judicious and temperate ; and his views of men and society are of that cheerful and liberal cast, which convinces the reader at every step, that they proceed from a fair mind and a generous spirit. His style and his manner of thinking harmonize with each other ; they are both characterized by simplicity, directness, and vigor. However grave his subject, however cumbersome or dry in its matter, he seldom fails to set it in an attractive light, thereby communicating pleasure with in-

struction. Every page affords a proof, that he writes from a full mind, that his researches have been thorough, and that his facts are drawn from the most authentic sources. His opinions and reflections, at the same time that they are bold and decided, are uttered without ostentation, and with such obvious justice and freedom from prejudice, as not only to inspire confidence in their accuracy, but the highest respect for the lecturer's candor and benevolence.

"His plan," says Professor Sparks, in the Preface to the present edition, "restricts him to a general survey, without the detail of narrative, or elaborate discussions of complicated and doubtful questions, which, however necessary they may sometimes be in a regular historical composition, are frequently more cumbersome than convincing, more tedious than instructive. His work embraces Modern History. As preparatory to his main subject, he touches upon the period immediately following the downfall of the Roman Empire; the laws, customs, and political state of the barbarous nations of Europe; the principal features of the Mahometan religion, and the remarkable events of the Dark Ages. In this outline he confines himself to such particulars, as mark the progress of civilization, and open the way to the political organizations of modern Europe, and as explain the causes of those vast changes in the affairs of the world, which have taken place within the last three hundred years. These changes and their consequences are made the theme of his subsequent lectures. Proceeding in the same spirit of philosophical analysis, seizing upon the prominent events and pursuing them in their natural course, and through their intricate combinations, he examines under separate heads the history of the European nations. Yet the periods and the states, which pass in review before him, are not considered as detached from each other, but as parts of a general system, having their distinctive relations and uniting to constitute a whole.

"A large portion of the work is devoted to England; the origin of the British constitution, the vicissitudes it has undergone, the dangers it has encountered, the obstacles it has overcome, and the means by which it has advanced to be the consolidating principle of an empire vast in territory and power. The great struggle, which long existed between the prerogative and popular claims, before the balance was duly adjusted by securing the weight of an efficient Parliament, is fully investigated and clearly explained. The characters of British statesmen, and their influence on the history of their country and the growth of its institutions, are likewise discussed with a freedom and ability, which clothe the author's remarks on these subjects with peculiar interest. Nor does he speak of the eminent men of other countries with less candor or discrimination, assigning to all their just meed of praise or censure, according as they have been the benefactors of their race, ambitious demagogues, or the tools of despotism." — pp. viii. ix.

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"The portion of the work, which will be most likely to interest readers on this side of the Atlantic, is the last six lectures, in which

he speaks of the American Revolution. No British writer has treated this subject with so much candor, or such perfect freedom from party feelings and national prejudice; and it may at least be doubted, if any American writer can claim, on this score, a higher degree of confidence. The fault of ignorance, so justly ascribed to almost all the writers in England, who have touched on that event, cannot be laid to the charge of Professor Smyth. He has examined the American side with no less diligence than the English. He has drawn from original fountains, consulted public documents, and taken as his guides Washington's official letters, Marshall, and Ramsay, whose authority he respects and in whose representations he confides. The causes of the controversy are briefly stated. Without laboring to decide whether these causes justified the measures of the British ministry in strictness of law and constitutional right, he allows, what is now assented to by all the world, that both ministers and people suffered themselves to be led astray by a mistaken policy in the first instance, and by national pride to the end of the contest. Mild government is a maxim, which Professor Smyth inculcates throughout his lectures, and which he especially urges upon every sovereign power in regard to its colonies or dependent states. This maxim is strikingly illustrated by the parallel he draws between the Netherlands, shaking off the yoke of Spain, and the American colonies, asserting and maintaining their independence. The pride of Spain was tyrannical, and she lost the Netherlands; the pride of England was blind and obstinate, and she lost her colonies. A little yielding to circumstances would have saved both. It was easy to cry out faction, treason, and rebellion, and thus to kindle irritation on one side and a rancorous spirit on the other, till the breach was past healing; but it was not easy to conquer a people borne down by wrongs, which they were determined to redress. Their hearts might have been subdued and their affections won, not by coercion and harshness, but by mild treatment and a due regard to their rights. This truth, deduced from the two cases in question, is confirmed by so many examples in history, that rulers might long ago have learned from it a practical lesson of policy and interest, to say nothing of wisdom and duty.

"The conduct of both parties in carrying on the American war is freely canvassed by the author. He finds little to praise in the British counsels, and some things to blame in those of the Americans. He wonders, and rightly enough, that there should be so much patriotism in passing resolves and publishing addresses, and so little in paying taxes and furnishing supplies for the army. He is surprised at the readiness to contract debts for the public benefit, and at the reluctance to recognise and provide for them. The soldiers, who had fought the battles and secured the freedom of their country, were dismissed and sent home without even a promise that they should be paid. But he justly accounts for these inconsistencies, and some others, by the weakness of the executive power. Congress could debate, resolve, and recommend, and here their functions ended. As an executive body they were feeble, in fact powerless, in regard to the most important objects of government. Nevertheless, it argues much for the virtue of a people, that they could sustain a war for so long a time under such a system. It argues more; it proves the strength of

principle with which they were united, and a deep-rooted conviction of the justice of their cause, that they could be roused to such efforts and sacrifices through years of conflict, privation, and suffering." — pp. xv. – xvii.

Professor Sparks has also enriched the present edition with a full list of the best works relating to the History of the United States and of the several States, to the American Revolution, and to the Constitution of the Federal Government.

It is due to the publisher to notice particularly the beautiful typographical execution of these volumes, which compares well with the best English work.

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5. — *A Grammar of the Greek Language. Part First. A Practical Grammar of the Attic and Common Dialects, with the Elements of General Grammar.* By Alpheus Crosby, Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Dartmouth College. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1841. 12mo. pp. 239.

Professor Crosby's high reputation as a classical scholar will be sustained and advanced by the publication of this work. It is not a mere compilation from other grammars, a pouring out of one vessel into another, after the manner in which many of the new manuals of instruction are now produced. If we were not almost afraid to characterize a Greek grammar by such a word as *originality*, we should say, that this quality was manifested in an eminent degree in the treatise now before us. We do not mean, merely a novel arrangement of parts, or a new and felicitous use of language in giving prominency and clearness to principles, that, in themselves, were previously well established ; although in these two respects, the work has much merit. But it bears the marks, throughout, of profound reflection and original research. And the task is performed not in the sapless manner of a mere philologist, who has lost all general ideas, while employed in hunting up words, breathings, and accents. The writer has a hearty love of his subject, and a power of viewing it in all its bearings and relations. The work is comprehensive, at the same time that it is condensed, and the general scholar will find ample matter for consideration in it, as well as the student of Greek.

We will not affirm, that a desire of change has led to a

rather hasty removal of some of the old landmarks in a field so well trodden. Still the novel aspect of some portions of the work will be rather startling to one who clings strongly to old associations. The removal even of some old and familiar paradigms leaves a blank for the eye and the heart ; and, when some of the forms of these veterans are cashiered without ceremony, one really feels regret, as if he had witnessed the disgrace of an old friend. In our schoolboy days, we were beaten through all the moods and tenses of τύπτω, and it is no satisfaction, at this time of life, to be told that a portion of these forms have only an imaginary existence. Some of the old grammars, it is true, warned us of this fact, but the remark was put in small print, and not committed to memory and recited for the thousandth time. But Professor Crosby takes up the matter seriously, and deems it remarkable, that, "*in an age characterized by its devotion to truth*, a false representation of an irregular verb should still be set forth as the paradigm of regular conjugation." By thus abridging the labors of the coming generation, matter is afforded them for an unseemly triumph over their predecessors, who were wont to conjugate the verb, — perfects, second futures, and all, — with unhesitating credulity.

It must not be supposed, that the author has made no more important innovations, than these removals of a few interlopers. The work abounds with valuable matter, both new and old, and the mode of arranging and presenting it appears as perfect as any one can desire. The introductory portion contains a clear and condensed statement of the first principles of orthoëpy and general grammar, which is well adapted even for those students, who commence the study of Greek at a very early age. An excellent feature of the work is the full explanation of grammatical terms, in which they are elucidated both by etymology and comparison. The definitions are given in groups, so that the words assist in explaining each other, and their various relations and distinctions are more easily perceived and remembered. One great difficulty is thus materially lessened to the student, whose memory was formerly burdened with a multitude of long and harsh-sounding appellations, to the greater part of which he could attach no meaning whatever. We wish, that the nomenclature of grammar could be reformed altogether, for it was manufactured at a time, when pedantry was the uniform of scholarship. The barbarous terms with which English grammars are incumbered, unmeaning to every one except the classical scholar, remind one too painfully of the inferiority of our language to the German, in which the power of composition and derivation from native

roots removes the necessity of such an embarrassing expedient. But a thorough reform, in this respect, would be difficult, if not wholly impracticable.

We cannot forbear to say one word in favor of the Tables of Declension and Conjugation, which form an important feature of this grammar. "They are published separately in two forms; in duodecimo, for the convenience and economy of beginners in learning the Greek paradigms, and in large quarto, for the convenience of more advanced students in consulting and comparing them." They answer fully the purpose of the editor, to furnish the pupil with those materials, in the most compact and intelligible form, the perfect mastery of which is absolutely essential for any progress in his studies.

The present volume makes but a small portion of the whole work, which Professor Crosby designs to execute. It contains only the first part of a grammar of the Attic and Common dialects, and the Syntax even of these is reserved for a separate publication. We hope that the author will receive encouragement to prosecute the task, till he has gone over the whole ground; and then, that it may be found worthy of extensive adoption.

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6. — *Twice-told Tales.* By Nathaniel Hawthorne. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 331 and 356.

The lovers of delicate humor, natural feeling, observation "like a blind man's touch," unerring taste, and magic grace of style, will greet with pleasure this new, improved, and enlarged edition of Hawthorne's "Twice-told Tales." The first volume appeared several years since, and received notice and fit commendation in a former Number of our Journal.* The second volume is made up of tales and sketches, similar in character to those of the first volume, and not inferior in merit. We are disposed, on the strength of these volumes, to accord to Mr. Hawthorne a high rank among the writers of this country, and to predict, that his contributions to its imaginative literature will enjoy a permanent and increasing reputation. Though he has not produced any elaborate and long-sustained work of fiction, yet his writings are most strikingly characterized by that creative originality, which is the essential life-blood of genius. He does not see by the help of other men's minds,

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* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLV. pp. 59 *et seq.*

and has evidently been more of an observer and thinker, than of a student. He gives us no poor copies of poor originals in English magazines and souvenirs. He has caught nothing of the intensity of the French, or the extravagance of the German, school of writers of fiction. Whether he writes a story or a sketch, or describes a character or a scene, he employs his own materials, and gives us transcripts of images painted on his own mind. Another characteristic merit of his writings is, that he seeks and finds his subjects at home, among his own people, in the characters, the events, and the traditions of his own country. His writings retain the racy flavor of the soil. They have the healthy vigor and free grace of indigenous plants.

Perhaps there is no one thing for which he is more remarkable than his power of finding the elements of the picturesque, the romantic, and even the supernatural, in the every-day, common-place life, that is constantly going on around us. He detects the essentially poetical in that which is superficially prosaic. In the alembic of his genius, the subtile essence of poetry is extracted from prose. The history, the traditions, the people, and the scenes of New England, have not generally been supposed favorable to the romance-writer or the poet ; but, in his hands, they are fruitful and suggestive, and dispose themselves into graceful attitudes and dramatic combinations. In his little sketch called "David Swan," the subject is nothing more or less than an hour's sleep, by the way-side, of a youth, while waiting for the coach that is to carry him to Boston ; yet how much of thoughtful and reflective beauty is thrown round it, what strange and airy destinies brush by the youth's unconscious face, how much matter for deep meditation of life and death, the past and future, time and eternity, is called forth by the few incidents in this simple drama. As illustrations of the same power, we would refer to "The Minister's Black Veil," "The Seven Vagabonds," and "Edward Fane's Rosebud," not to speak of many others, in which this peculiarity is more or less perceptible.

One of Mr. Hawthorne's most characteristic traits is the successful manner in which he deals with the supernatural. He blends together, with a skilful hand, the two worlds of the seen and the unseen. He never fairly goes out of the limits of probability, never calls up an actual ghost, or dispenses with the laws of nature ; but he passes as near as possible to the dividing line, and his skill and ingenuity are sometimes tasked to explain, by natural laws, that which produced upon the reader all the effect of the supernatural. In this, too, his originality is conspicuously displayed. We know of no writings which resemble his in this respect.

His genius, too, is characterized by a large proportion of feminine elements, depth and tenderness of feeling, exceeding purity of mind, and a certain airy grace and arch vivacity in narrating incidents and delineating characters. The strength and beauty of a mother's love are poured over that exquisite story, which we are tempted to pronounce, as, on the whole, the finest thing he ever wrote, — "The Gentle Boy." What minute delicacy of touch, and womanly knowledge of a child's mind and character, are perceptible in "Little Annie's Ramble." How much of quiet pathos is contained in "The Shaker Bridal," and of tranquil beauty in "The Three-fold Destiny." His female characters are sketched with a pencil equally fine and delicate ; steeped in the finest hues of the imagination, yet not

> "too bright and good
> For human nature's daily food."

Every woman owes him a debt of gratitude for those lovely visions of womanly faith, tenderness, and truth, which glide so gracefully through his pages.

All that Mr. Hawthorne has written is impressed with a strong family likeness. His range is not very extensive, nor has he any great versatility of mind. He is not extravagant or excessive in any thing. His tragedy is tempered with a certain smoothness ; it solemnizes and impresses us, but it does not freeze the blood, still less offend the most fastidious taste. He stoops to no vulgar horrors or physical clap-traps. The mind, in its highest and deepest moods of feeling, is the only subject with which he deals. There is, however, a great deal of calm power, as well as artist-like skill, in his writings of this kind, such as "Howe's Masquerade," "The White Old Maid," "Lady Eleanor's Mantle." In his humor, too, there is the same quiet tone. It is never riotous, or exuberant ; it never begets a laugh, and seldom a smile, but it is most unquestioned humor, as any one may see, by reading a "A Rill from the Town Pump," or "Chippings with a Chisel." It is a thoughtful humor, of kindred with sighs as well as tears. Indeed, over all that he has written, there hangs, like an atmosphere, a certain soft and calm melancholy, which has nothing diseased or mawkish in it, but is of that kind which seems to flow naturally from delicacy of organization and a meditative spirit. There is no touch of despair in his pathos, and his humor subsides into that minor key, into which his thoughts seem naturally cast.

As a writer of the language merely, Mr. Hawthorne is entitled to great praise, in our judgment. His style strikes us as

one of marked and uncommon excellence. It is fresh and vigorous, not formed by studying any particular model, and has none of the stiffness which comes from imitation; but it is eminently correct and careful. His language is very pure, his words are uniformly well chosen, and his periods are moulded with great grace and skill. It is also a very perspicuous style, through which his thoughts shine like natural objects seen through the purest plate-glass. He has no affectations or prettinesses of phrases, and none of those abrupt transitions, or of that studied inversion and uncouth abruptness, by which attention is often attempted to be secured to what is feeble or commonplace. It is characterized by that same unerring good taste, which presides over all the movements of his mind.

We feel that we have hardly done justice to Mr. Hawthorne's claims in this brief notice, and that they deserve an extended analysis and criticism; but we have not done this, partly on account of our former attempt to do justice to his merits, and partly because his writings have now become so well known, and are so justly appreciated, by all discerning minds, that they do not need our commendation. He is not an author to create a sensation, or have a tumultuous popularity. His works are not stimulating or impassioned, and they minister nothing to a feverish love of excitement. Their tranquil beauty and softened tints, which do not win the notice of the restless many, only endear them the more to the thoughtful few. We commend them for their truth and healthiness of feeling, and their moral dignity, no less than for their literary merit. The pulse of genius beats vigorously through them, and the glow of life is in them. It is the voice of a man who has seen and thought for himself, which addresses us; and the treasures which he offers to us are the harvests of much observation and deep reflection on man, and life, and the human heart.

7.— *Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts, from* 1630, *to the Revolution, in* 1775. By Emory Washburn. Boston. C. C. Little & James Brown. 1840. 8vo. pp. 400.

This work has evidently been a labor of love, and we trust that Mr. Washburn has found his own reward in the prosecution of his inquiries; because, from the nature of his subject,

he can otherwise hope for no adequate return for the time and toil he has expended in them. Few, even of the legal profession itself, have any curiosity to trace its history to its early sources; and, out of the pale of the profession, none but a professed antiquary will duly appreciate the disinterested zeal with which Mr. Washburn has gathered up the scattered fragments of the past, and combined them into a connected form. He has done the State good service by his book. It is a conscientious and judicious compilation from original sources, both in print and in manuscript, written in a good style, and, we should judge, with great accuracy of statement and carefulness of detail. It contains a number of brief and comprehensive biographical notices of distinguished ante-revolutionary judges and lawyers, and curious sketches of the primitive forms of administering justice in the earlier days of the Commonwealth, when law was "in the gristle, and not hardened into the bone of manhood." The work becomes doubly honorable to Mr. Washburn in the view of those who know that he is not a mere legal student, but is engaged in an arduous and extensive practice, which, with most men, would be a sufficient excuse to themselves for "daffing aside" all the curious and unprofitable learning of their profession as mere surplusage, and that he has given much valuable time to the State in a legislative capacity.

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8. — *Chapters on Churchyards.* By Caroline Southey, Authoress of "Solitary Hours," &c. &c. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1842.

The author of this work (we cannot subscribe to the authority of the title-page, and say *authoress*) is better known to the world of readers by her maiden name of Caroline Bowles. She is now the wife of Robert Southey. The title of the book is not exactly an index to its contents, for the greater part of it has nothing in particular to do with churchyards, except that the pervading tone is melancholy, and many of the narratives have a tragical termination. The larger portion of it is occupied with three desultory narratives, called "Broad Summerford," "Andrew Cleaves," and the "Grave of the Broken Heart." We have read it with a good deal of pleasure. The writer is evidently a person of strong and correct religious feeling, well-regulated sensibility, expansive benevolence, and a decided poetical temperament. She has suffered a good

deal, we should judge, from the sort of sick-room atmosphere which is breathed round many of its pages, and from the serious and melancholy tone of sentiment which pervades it. There is truth and spirit in her sketches of character ; and her descriptions of visible objects are uncommonly fresh and picturesque. The picture of the parsonage at Broad Summerford, and of the persons and occupations of its inmates, is a very beautiful piece of still life. Portions of the story of Andrew Cleaves are told with a good deal of tragic power, and the character of the stern father is vigorously and consistently drawn. The fate of Blanche D'Albi is very touchingly and beautifully told. The lively and spirited sketches of the village congregation, in the third chapter, especially of Farmer Buckwheat and his family, show that her power is not confined to the plaintive and the tender, but that she has a delicate appreciation of the ludicrous, and a ready facility in the expression of it. The prominent defect of the work is, that the staple of her thoughts is spun out too fine. There are too many words. The same idea is repeated in a variety of forms. The style is sometimes careless and slipshod. We should judge that much of it had originally been written for magazines, where the main object was to cover as much space as could honestly be done. The last story, in particular, might be very advantageously condensed.

The moral tone of the book deserves unqualified praise, and it is so full of sensibility to every thing beautiful, and of sympathy with every thing good, that we close it with a feeling that the writer must be a very delightful person, and one whose society must be valued by her friends as no common privilege.

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9. — *Conjectures and Researches concerning the Love, Madness, and Imprisonment of Torquato Tasso.* By Richard Henry Wilde. New York : Alexander V. Blake. 1842. 2 vols. 16mo. pp. 234 and 270.

An air of elegant scholarship and refined literary taste pervades these volumes, which makes it difficult to consider them with the ordinary strictness of censorship. The subject alone commends itself strongly to all who have the least tincture of Italian lore. And Mr. Wilde's ingenious researches, eloquent remarks, and spirited and faithful translations, impart no small attractions to the work for the English reader. The mysterious story of Tasso's life, into which love, jealousy, and mad-

ness enter as springs of action, and which opens glimpses of a tale of romantic interest, — of a princess wooed and won by the daring passion of a vassal poet, (who breathed the secret to his Muse alone, and for that half-unwitting disclosure incurred the lasting coldness of the high-born lady, the slow but implacable resentment of her haughty brother, and the cruel punishment with which the offence was visited,) — the protracted imprisonment, the imputed insanity, and the touching verse and prose in which the bard proclaimed his sorrows, and hinted at their cause, — this strange and moving history has excited the interest and curiosity of nearly three centuries, and is still as imperfectly known as at first. The clouds which hang over it only provoke more eager inquiry, tinted, as they are, with the most gorgeous hues of love and poetry. The copious materials which exist, and which seem at first sight to promise the entire solution of the mysteries, but, when more closely examined, only multiply questions, contradictions, and doubts, and draw still more closely the veil, perpetually incite one to fresh efforts to thread the maze. Documents affording more precise information undoubtedly exist, but they are lodged in secret archives, with doors doubly locked and barred by Italian pride, jealous of the honor of great-grandmothers. The whole matter is one of the most curious and interesting subjects in literary history, and the skilful treatment of it must be agreeable to readers in all countries and at all times.

Mr. Wilde has endeavoured to make the poet tell his own story, and, from the vast collection of his letters and minor poems, to cull out and piece together those personal allusions and statements, which may throw light on the principal incidents in his life. "Enough, it is imagined, may be gathered from his own pen to afford grounds of satisfactory belief, or at least of plausible conjecture." The correctness of this method, so far at least as the poems are concerned, obviously depends on the assumption, that bards are disposed to rhyme about themselves, and to tell their own stories with no greater admixture of fiction, than can be easily detected and separated by a scrutinizing observer, who has some means of collateral information. We question the justice of such a postulate. Poetry is acknowledged "cloud-land," and he must be a seer or diviner of no ordinary powers, who can distinguish the dim outlines of truth under those vast and magnificent wreaths and foldings. He was a poet himself, who affirmed, that "what we call imagination is little more than strong feelings and vivid recollections," and we will not admit that there is any thing more than poetical truth in the statement. In the first sonnet of Tasso translated by Mr. Wilde, the bard exclaims,

> "*True* were the loves and transports which I sung,
> And over which I wept in varied rhyme."

The translator supposes, that literal truth is here spoken of, while we hold, that the bard intended only a sort of poetical verity. That was a *true* affection, which Othello felt for Desdemona, but it was by no means an *actual* one ; for the noble Moor himself, and the Venetian senator's daughter, are only figments of the poet's brain. In the lines quoted, Tasso may have spoken in his own person, or he may have identified himself with some ideal character, and affirmed the reality of sorrows quite as imaginary as Desdemona's passion for the Moor. Unquestionably a true poet's song grows out of his own inmost feelings, and rests upon the incidents of his actual life ; but these feelings and incidents are moralized by him "into a thousand similes." The truth, in his hands, becomes a riddle, of which he only holds the key. To maintain, that others can see the fact under the fiction as well as himself, is to believe that he writes prose instead of poetry. Shakspeare's sonnets were probably dictated by some prominent incidents affecting his internal life, and contain the history of his feelings ; but no one has succeeded in reading that history so clearly as to remove any part of the blank in the poet's biography, — that blank, which is so wide, that, in posterity's view, the matchless bard seems almost to want personality, — to be a mere embodiment of the dramatic muse.

But the interest of Mr. Wilde's volumes does not depend wholly, or even in great part, on his success in the investigation. He leads us along a path so green and flowery, that we care not where the journey may end, or whether it comes to any definite termination. The work contains much elegant disquisition, and the comparison and criticism of the poet's various biographers are no less entertaining than instructive. Much ingenuity is shown in comparing and weighing the different branches of evidence, and many collateral facts are established, that form agreeable additions to literary history. Translations from the poet fill a considerable portion of the book, and appear to us to possess very remarkable merit. Tasso's letters are rendered into very graceful and flowing English, in which hardly a trace of their foreign origin can be discerned. A number of the sonnets and amatory stanzas are translated in verse, in a manner that shows a fine perception of the delicate beauties of the original, and great power of preserving them in smooth and elegantly finished rhymes. This is high praise ; but we believe that the two following sonnets, taken almost at random from a number possessing equal beauty, will be found to sustain the commendation in the opinion of our readers.

"Three high-born dames it was my lot to see,
Not all alike in beauty, yet so fair,
And so akin in act, and look, and air,
That Nature seemed to say, 'SISTERS ARE WE!'
I praised them all, — but one of all the three
So charmed me that I loved her, and became
Her bard, and sung my passion, and her name,
Till to the stars they soared past rivalry.
Her only I adored, — and if my gaze
Was turned elsewhere, it was but to admire
Of her high beauty some far-scattered rays,
And worship her in idols; — fond desire,
False incense hid, — yet I repent my praise
As rank idolatry 'gainst LOVE's true fire." — Vol. I. p. 17.

"'Til L'AURA comes, who now, alas! elsewhere
Breathes, amid fields and forests hard of heart,
Bereft of joy I stray from crowds apart
In this dark vale, 'mid grief and ire's foul air,
Where there is nothing left of bright or fair,
Since LOVE has gone a rustic to the plough,
Or feeds his flocks, — or in the summer now
Handles the rake, — now plies the scythe with care.
Happy the mead and valley, hill and wood,
Where man and beast, and almost tree and stone,
Seem by her look with sense and joy endued.
What is not changed on which her eyes e'er shone?
The country courteous grows, the city rude,
Even from her presence or her loss alone." — Vol. I. p. 21.

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10. — *Fragments from German Prose Writers. Translated by* SARAH AUSTIN. *With Biographical Sketches of the Authors.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1841. 16mo. pp. 353.

MRS. AUSTIN's rare merits as a translator do not require to be heralded in our pages. She has done more, perhaps, than any living writer, to bring the German mind into contact with the English, and to exhibit the former in its true lineaments and proportions, — not softened down into a vague image, in which all the salient points of the original are lost, nor yet heightened into bold caricature, or copied with slavish and spiritless fidelity. A perfect mistress of German idiom, she possesses entire command, also, over the stores of our own language, and the raciness and spirit of her English style would warrant her a high reputation as an original writer. The happily chosen words and turns of expression in a particular writer do not make so deep an impression on her mind, as to slip una-

wares into the translation, and thus spoil the uniform and native air of the work in the eye of a reader, to whose mind the hybrid compound does not immediately suggest the foreign original. These excellences of Mrs. Austin's manner are often suggested to us by contrast, on looking over some one of the countless works translated from the German, which the press is sending forth in such rapid succession. One would suppose, that most of these translators "had been at a feast of languages, and had stolen the scraps," they treat the king's English so abominably.

The volume before us is well adapted to show the writer's varied powers as a translator, and her taste and judgment in selecting passages from various authors. Yet it is not a book of elegant extracts, a flower culled here and there to form a nosegay all of sweets. It is rather a collection of scraps, as if a common-place book were emptied into the volume, filled with fragments that had excited attention at various times, from some peculiarity of thought, imagery, sentiment, or expression. Some of the materials are sweet, some pungent, some bright and exhilarating, and others positively acrid and offensive. There is a mixture of all humors and complexions, in which something will be found to gratify all kinds of taste. Critics and artists, novelists and historians, poets and philosophers, are all put under contribution to the contents of the book. The translator remarks, that the choice of the passages was determined by considerations as various as their character and their subjects. "In some it was the value of the matter, in others the beauty of the form, that struck me; in some the vigorous, unaffected good sense, in others the fantastic or mystical charm." A compound put together in such an irregular way will probably give to English readers a more correct idea of the extent, variety, and peculiar character of German literature, than a collection formed and classified upon more orderly principles. Notwithstanding the perfect English garb, with which the skill of the translator has invested these products of another clime, some peculiarity of thought or feeling invariably betrays their foreign origin; and for this reason, among many others, the book may be recommended to those who wish to gain a general idea of the spirit and prevailing character of German literature.

We must not omit to say a word of the remarkably neat and tasteful manner in which the American publisher of the volume has executed his task. Several other publications, from the same establishment, have displayed equal taste and liberality in the mechanical execution, and we hope such enterprise will be attended and rewarded by the favor of the public. However

English authors may have to complain, that their productions are stolen by American publishers, they cannot say, now-a-days, that their children are defaced by any Gipsey process, in order that what is unlawfully obtained may not be recognised.

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11. — *The New Hampshire Book ; being Specimens of the Literature of the Granite State.* Nashua : Published by David Marshall. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1842. 12mo. pp. 391.

The restless and migratory disposition of our countrymen gives little opportunity for the formation of local peculiarities of character. The denizens of town and country too frequently change places with each other, to allow the peculiar influences of either residence to exert a marked influence on their habits, feelings, and manners. The constant interchange between the inhabitants of the several States, the facilities for travelling, and the inclination for the pursuit of pleasure, novelty, or gain, which first created these modes of rapid conveyance, and which now sustains them by constant employment, are all operative causes against the formation of provincial traits of sentiment, expression, or custom. We are almost a nomadic people, a set of wandering Tartars, with hardly a knowledge of what local attachments mean. Accordingly, when an American visits Europe, nothing strikes him with more surprise than the prominency and fixedness of those features, whether moral or physical, which have grown out of the geographical position of the people. Character is local and hereditary. The inhabitants of a small town or city manifest the same traits, which their ancestors showed centuries ago. Some fact in the early history of the place, connected with its establishment, colonization, or conquest by a particular tribe, has left a deep imprint on the character of its inhabitants, the traces of which can be clearly discerned at the present day. Go out half a dozen miles from them, and you meet with people, who appear of a wholly different race. In our own country, we travel on the wings of steam for a thousand miles, and find substantially the same class of beings, that we quitted four or five days before. The features of the country are different. We may have left the rock-bound shores of New England for the wide and fertile prairies of the West. But the men and women, in all important respects, are the same. They speak the same language, not usually varying even in accent ; they discuss the same political topics ; their clothes are cut after

the same pattern, — which is, for the most part, no pattern at all. The same distance in Europe, extends through the territories of half a dozen kingdoms, and perhaps fifty provinces, the inhabitants of which, probably, speak about as many different languages and dialects. And the natives of each province have their mark, or *shibboleth*, which they carry with them wherever they go ; and they will detect the stranger, from his want of it, as soon as he has entered their borders. The lively Parisians will discover a provincial, before he has passed a day in the capital, and, though he be an utter stranger to them, will often be able to tell from what particular corner of France he came. When will the inhabitants of Boston or New York be able to do the like ?

These remarks may not, at first sight, appear much to the purpose in treating of the "New Hampshire Book." And yet they were naturally suggested by the examination of the work. Here is a volume of respectable size, filled with prose and poetry, on all sorts of subjects, proceeding from more than fifty different writers, all of whom were born and educated within the limits of one State. But strike out the names of the authors, some notices of individuals, and a few descriptive pieces, that relate to particular spots and remarkable scenery, and no one could tell in what part of the country the book originated. Knowing only that it was filled with contributions from some one State, it might be ascribed with equal probability to Maine or Missouri. The geographical features of New Hampshire are as strongly marked as those of any State in the Union. It deserves its title, as the *Granite* State. But its mountains of primitive rock have left no impress on the literature of the men they overshadow. It is true, that, under all circumstances, the highest order of literary talent will resist local influences, and assume a cosmopolite character. It ceases to be provincial, or even national ; it is universal, and becomes the property of all countries and of all times. But the volume before us is filled, in great part, with pieces of only modest pretensions. Its contents are made up, in general, of brief sketches, or extracts from works which were only designed to possess a temporary interest. Most of the contributors to its pages have only snatched an hour or two from other pursuits, to pen a stanza or a page, and, for this very reason, their productions are more likely than any others, to be tinged with a local coloring. Still, to our eyes at least, the State tint is nowhere visible.

The editors of the volume have executed their task with care and good taste. They have collected an agreeable miscellany, which, besides its peculiar interest to the inhabitants of one part of the country, will afford some pleasant reading

for others. The wish to show a long list of contributors has led to the admission of some pieces, the absence of which would improve the character of the volume as a whole. Some of the verses show more patriotism than poetry, and some prose articles display more good feeling than literary taste. The intellectual wealth of the State would appear to more advantage in copious extracts from a few writers, than in a heap of scraps from a multitude. And there was no want of materials of the highest merit. New Hampshire has given birth to many individuals, whose reputation is identified with that of the whole country ; though many of them, as the editors remark in the Preface, " have not spent their lives in the State, but have sought their fortunes in other regions."

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12. — *On the Remote Cause of Epidemic Diseases.* By John Parkin, Honorary and Corresponding Fellow of the Royal Academies of Medicine and Surgery in Madrid, Barcelona, and Cadiz ; Fellow of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London ; Graduate in Medicine of the University of Erlangen. London : 1841. 8vo. pp. 198.

The cause of disease is involved in much obscurity, even in the simplest form in which the question can be presented ; and when we extend our view to epidemic diseases, which sometimes spread over and devastate vast regions of the globe, it is buried in mystery. This cause must be powerful, for its effects are irresistible ; it must be extensive, for its influence is felt in every part of the earth ; it must exist independently of local and temporary agencies, for it spreads its action over every variety of climate and through all vicissitudes of season. It has been sought for in the atmosphere, because that is the only known agent upon the surface of the globe, universal enough to meet all the points of its action. But, if it exist there, it has never been detected by direct inquiry. The most searching investigations of French chemistry could discover no difference in the composition of the purest air from the peak of Teneriffe, and the pestilential atmosphere of a Parisian hospital. He must be a bold man, therefore, who shall propose a theory to meet all the claims of these numerous and diversified phenomena, or an ingenious and able man, who shall from the phenomena themselves, and their affinities, discover the law that regulates them. To which of these classes

the author of this inquiry is to be assigned, our readers must judge.

The first thing to be done towards establishing a new theory is of course to demolish all preëxisting theories. This, in the present instance, is a task of no great difficulty. Mr. Parkin directs his attention chiefly to the "black death" of the fourteenth century, and the epidemic cholera of the present age, and regards them in some sort as exemplars, or representatives, of the whole class of epidemic diseases. He shows that the phenomena attending the spread of these diseases cannot be explained by the supposition of contagion, or of malaria, or marsh effluvia; nor, in short, by any influence disseminated in the atmosphere, since the progress of disease from place to place has often been in direct opposition to the course of the wind, in climates where that course has been uniformly the same for a considerable time.

He looks elsewhere, therefore, for an agent sufficiently powerful and extensive for the exigencies of the case; and he finds it beneath the earth's surface, — or *crust*, as Geologists more elegantly term it, — in *volcanic action.* There does not appear much of originality in the mere statement of this theory; but there is more in the author's developement of it, and still more in his elucidation and defence of it. Our learned countryman, Mr. Noah Webster, many years ago, published, in two goodly-sized volumes, the history of Epidemics, and their dependence upon, or connexion with, comets, earthquakes, and volcanos. Mr. Parkin, however, does not rely upon any coincidence in the times of their appearance, as evidence of a connexion in their origin, for he does not think these coincidences sufficiently constant to prove such connexion.

"As the shock of the earthquake, and the eruption of the volcano, are the principal signs we have of this action being in existence, the only direct evidence, it may be considered, that could be adduced in support of the above hypothesis, would be the occurrence of those phenomena simultaneously with the outbreak of epidemic diseases. Such proof, however, is generally wanting; for although, as will hereafter appear, epidemics are sometimes accompanied by earthquakes, these diseases frequently prevail without being preceded or accompanied by these phenomena, — while the influence of volcanos must be too limited to allow us to draw any deductions from this source, in respect to general plagues or epidemics." — p. 35.

The author mentions five principal laws of volcanic action, with which those of epidemics thus coincide; *the action is felt or witnessed along particular lines of the earth's surface; the regularity of their progress both chronologically and geographically; its effects are less on secondary, than on tertiary strata, and seldom witnessed on primary formations; the effects are*

always greater nearer the sea or other collection of waters ; and, lastly, *their limited duration, their periodical return, and their total cessation in that particular locality after certain definite periods.*

It must be borne in mind, that, by volcanic action, is not meant, merely, the ebullition and spouting of fire of an actual volcano in full blast, but, as we have seen above, a certain power pervading the whole interior of the globe, which our author does not very clearly define, and of which, perhaps, even his own conceptions are not quite distinct. The idea is sufficiently familiar to geologists of a great mass of internal fire, pervading the bowels of the earth, an immense boiling cauldron, whose agitations shake whole continents in earthquakes, and whose outbreaks are the outpourings of volcanos. But we believe the supposition is original with our author, that there are other and more quiet means of communication from the hidden world within, mephitic vapors silently and invisibly escaping through fissures and fountains to poison our upper air, and steal away our health. He finds a confirmation of the correctness of this view of the cause of epidemic disease, in the connexion of this same volcanic action with the more visible atmospheric phenomena. He quarrels not, indeed, with the meteorologist in regard to the ordinary production of rain. But certain "aberrations of rain," as well as "irregularities of the seasons," "snow and hail," and "storms and hurricanes," he finds, obey the same laws, as those which regulate the movements of epidemic and of volcanic action ; and therefore he infers, that there is between them all the relationship of common origin, at least, if not of cause and effect.

We have next a chapter giving a concise history of the Black Death, and of the Cholera, showing how the progress of each was attended by various remarkable atmospheric and subterranean phenomena ; and then what may be called the rationale of the whole theory, an explanation of the manner in which the volcanic action is itself excited, and in which it may be supposed to produce disease. The history is interesting ; but it would not be difficult to find coincidences enough of this sort, at any period of the world ; and it does not, therefore, to our minds, bring much additional evidence to the truth of the theory. In fact, we are not sure that we are quite convinced by the whole statement of the argument. Some objections occur to our minds, that we would fain see removed. But we have no space to offer them now ; and, if it were otherwise, we have little inclination to do battle with a man who states his case so fairly, and who argues it with so earnest an enthusiasm.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of the Countess Emily Plater. Translated by J. K. Salomonski, a Polish Exile. New York: John F. Trow. 12mo. pp. 286.

EDUCATION.

A Method of Teaching Linear Drawing, adapted to the Public Schools. By the Author of "Easy Lessons in Perspective." Boston: E. P. Peabody. 12mo. pp. 49.

Psychology, or Elements of a new System of Mental Philosophy, on the Basis of Consciousness and Common Sense. Designed for Colleges and Academies. By S. S. Schmucker, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 227.

Ἡροδοτου Ἱστοριων Λογοι Θ. Herodotus from the Text of Schweighaeuser; with English Notes. Edited by C. S. Wheeler, A. M., Tutor in Greek in Harvard University. Boston: James Munroe & Company. In two Volumes. 12mo.

A Translation of Jacobs's Greek Reader, (adapted to all the Editions printed in America,) for the use of Schools, Academies, Colleges, and Private Learners, with Copious Notes, Critical and Explanatory; illustrated with numerous Parallel Passages and Apposite Quotations from the Greek, Latin, French, English, Spanish, and Italian Languages; and a Complete Parsing Index, elucidated by References to the most Popular Greek Grammars extant. By Patrick S. Casserly, Author of a New Literal Translation of Longinus, Editor of the Ninth New York Edition of the Greek Reader, and late Principal of the Chrestomathic Institution. New York: W. E. Dean. 12mo. pp. 328.

HISTORY.

The American Politician; containing the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Inaugural and First Annual Addresses and Messages of all the Presidents, and other Important State Papers; together with a Selection of Interesting Statistical Tables, and Biographical Notices of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, the several Presidents, and many other Distinguished Characters. By M. Sears. Embellished with the Portraits of the

Presidents, from Washington to Tyler. Boston: E. Leland & W. J. Whiting. 12mo. pp. 552.

JUVENILE BOOKS.

Liberty Tree; with the Last Words of Grandfather's Chair. By Nathaniel Hawthorne, Author of "Twice-Told Tales." Boston: Tappan & Dennet. 12mo. pp. 156.

Grace and Clara, or Be Just as well as Generous. By Aunt Kitty, Author of "Blind Alice," "Jessie Graham," and "Florence Arnott." New York: Dayton & Saxton. 12mo. pp. 104.

Jonas on a Farm in Winter. By the Author of the Rollo Books. Boston: W. D. Ticknor. 12mo. pp. 180.

Jonas on a Farm in Summer. By the Author of the Rollo Books. Boston: W. D. Ticknor. 12mo. pp. 178.

Cousin Lucy at Study. By the Author of the Rollo Books. Boston: B. B. Mussey. 12mo. pp. 180.

Cousin Lucy at Play. By the Author of the Rollo Books. Boston: B. B. Mussey. 12mo. pp. 180.

Tales of Shipwrecks and other Disasters at Sea. By Thomas Bingley, Author of "Stories about Dogs," etc. Embellished with Engravings. Boston: Tappan & Dennet. 12mo. pp. 224.

The Sunday-School Present; A Collection of Stories, from the Portfolio of an Ex-Superintendent. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 12mo. pp. 140.

Saint Nicholas's Book for all Good Boys and Girls. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co. 12mo. pp. 208.

The Rollo Philosophy. Part I. Water. Part II. Air. By the Author of the Rollo Books. Philadelphia: Hogan & Thompson. 12mo. pp. 192 and 192.

Wealth and Worth; or Which Makes the Man? New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 204.

Willy the Wanderer. By the Author of "Young Rover," "Alnomuc, or the Golden Rule." Boston: James B. Dow. 12mo. pp. 144.

The Juvenile Naturalist; or Walks in the Country. By the Rev. B. H. Draper. Autumn and Winter. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 16mo. pp. 232.

The Discontented Robins, and other Stories, for the Young; by the late Miss Mary Anna Fox; to which is added, The Canary Bird; translated from the German of Schmidt. Boston: Saxton & Peirce. 12mo. pp. 155.

Fresh Flowers for my Children. By a Mother. Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins. 16mo. pp. 140.

LAW.

Points in the Law of Discovery. By James Wigram, Esq., One of her Majesty's Counsel. With Notes and References to American Cases, by a Member of the Boston Bar. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 384.

Commentaries on the Law of Partnership, as a Branch of Commercial and Maritime Jurisprudence, with Occasional Illustrations from Civil and Foreign Law. By Joseph Story, LL. D., one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Dane Professor

of Law in Harvard University. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 690.

Reports of the Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. By Octavius Pickering, Counsellor at Law. Vol. XXIII. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 586.

A Treatise on the Organization and Jurisdiction of the Supreme, Circuit, and District Courts of the United States; the Practice of these Several Courts in Civil and Criminal Cases; of the Supreme and Circuit Courts in Writ of Error and Certificate of Division of Opinion; and of the District Courts in Cases of Municipal Seizure; including a Summary Exposition of the Law relative to the Priority of the United States; Imprisoned Debtors; the Remission of Penalties and Forfeitures; and Naturalization. To which is added an Appendix, containing the Rules of the Supreme Court of the United States; the Rules prescribed by the Supreme Court to regulate the Practice of the Circuit Courts in Suits in Equity; and the Rules of the Circuit and District Courts for the Northern District of New York; and Practical Forms. Second Edition, revised, corrected, and much enlarged by Alfred Conkling. New York: Gould, Banks, & Co. 8vo. pp. 634.

Rules and Forms in Bankruptcy, in the District Court of the United States for the District of Massachusetts. Boston: Clapp & Son. 8vo. pp. 27.

Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature, and in the Court for the Correction of Errors, of the State of New York. By John L. Wendell, Counsellor at Law. Vol. XXV. Albany: Charles Van Benthuysen. 8vo. pp. 717.

Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of New York. By Nicholas Hill, Jun., Counsellor at Law. Vol. I. Albany: W. & A. Gould, & Co. 8vo. pp. 748.

An Introduction to Legal Science; being a concise and familiar Treatise on such Legal Topics as are earliest read by the Law Student; should be generally taught in the higher Seminaries of Learning; and understood by every Citizen, as a part of a general and business Education. To which is appended a Concise Dictionary of Law Terms and Phrases. By Silas Jones, Counsellor at Law. New York: John S. Voorhies. 12mo. pp. xxxvi. and 356.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

The Practice of Medicine; or a Treatise on Special Pathology and Therapeutics. By Robley Dunglison, M. D., Professor of the Institutes of Medicine, &c., in Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia; Lecturer on Clinical Medicine, and Attending Physician at the Philadelphia Hospital, &c. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. In Two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 572 and 750.

A Therapeutical Arrangement of the Materia Medica, or the Materia Medica arranged upon Physiological Principles, and in the Order of the General Practical Value which Remedial Agents hold under their Several Denominations, and in Conformity with the Physiological Doctrines set forth in the Medical and Physiological Commen-

taries, by Martyn Paine, M. D., A. M., Author of the Commentaries, and of the Letters on the Cholera Asphyxia of New York, and Professor of the Institutes of Medicine and Materia Medica in the University of New York. New York: J. & H. G. Langley. 12mo. pp. 271.

The Medical Formulary; being a collection of Prescriptions, derived from the Writings and Practice of many of the most Eminent Physicians in America and Europe. To which is added an Appendix, containing the usual Dietetic Preparations and Antidotes for Poisons. The whole accompanied with a few brief Pharmaceutic and Medical Observations. By Benjamin Ellis, M. D., late Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy in the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy. Revised and extended, by Samuel George Morton, M. D. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 262.

Lectures to Ladies on Anatomy and Physiology. By Mrs. Mary S. Gove. Boston: Saxton & Peirce. 16mo.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Beauties, Harmonies, and Sublimities of Nature; with Notes, Commentaries, and Illustrations. By Charles Bucke, Author of "Ruins of Ancient Cities," &c., &c. Selected and Revised by the Rev. William P. Page. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 329.

An Epitome of the History of Philosophy; being the Work adopted by the University of France for Instruction in the Colleges and High Schools. Translated from the French, with Additions, and a Continuation of the History from the time of Reid to the Present Day, by C. S. Henry, D. D., Professor of Philosophy and History in the University of the City of New York. New York: Harper & Brothers. In Two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 311 and 276.

Sketches of New England, or Memories of the Country. By John Carver, Esquire, Justice of the Peace and Quorum. New York: E. French. 12mo. pp. 286.

The Massachusetts Register, and United States Calendar, for 1842; and other Valuable Information. Boston: James Loring. 12mo. pp. 251.

The Flower People. By a Lady. Hartford: Tyler & Porter. 16mo. pp. 228.

A Treatise on the Right of Suffrage; with an Appendix. By Samuel Jones. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 274.

The Lectures delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, at Boston, August, 1841; including the Journal of Proceedings, and a List of the Officers. Published under the Direction of the Board of Censors. Boston: William D. Ticknor. 12mo. pp. 194.

Essays on Property and Labor as connected with Natural Law and the Constitution of Society. By Francis Lieber. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 225.

Report of the Dinner given to Charles Dickens, in Boston, February 1, 1842. Reported by Thomas Gill and William English, Reporters of the Morning Post. Most of the Speeches revised by their Authors. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 16mo. pp. 66.

The Ideal Man; a Conversation between two Friends, upon the

Beautiful, the Good, and the True, as manifested in Actual Life. By a Philokalist. Boston: E. P. Peabody. 12mo. pp. 160.

Remarks on a Protective Tariff and the Principles of Free Trade, being a Review of Article I. in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, January, 1842, on the "Impolicy of Countervailing Duties." Boston: John H. Eastburn. 8vo. pp. 40.

Popular Technology; or Professions and Trades. By Edward Hazen, A. M., Author of "The Symbolical Spelling-book," "The Speller and Definer," and "A Practical Grammar." Embellished with eighty-one Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 261 and 275.

My Native Village. Sketches from Real Life; designed to aid the Temperance Cause. New York: M. W. Dodd. 18mo. pp. 209.

The Lowell Offering; a Repository of Original Articles, written exclusively by Females actively employed in the Mills. First Volume. Lowell: Powers & Bagley. 8vo. pp. 380.

War and Peace; the Evils of the First, and a Plan for Preserving the Last. By William Jay. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 12mo. pp. 101.

An American Dictionary of the English and German Languages, containing all the Words in General Use; Designating the various Parts of Speech in both Languages, with the Orthography, Accentuation, Division, and Plan of Pronunciation according to Webster, and with the Genders and Plurals of the German Nouns, the Division of Words into Syllables, the Separation of Compound Nouns by double Hyphens, according to their Formation. By P. J. Kunst. Part I. English and German. Part II. German and English. Harrisburg, Pa.: G. S. Peters. 12mo. pp. 416 and 397.

An Historical, Scientific, and Practical Essay on Milk, as an Article of Human Sustenance; with a Consideration of the Effects consequent upon the present unnatural Methods of producing it for the supply of Large Cities. By Robert M. Hartley. New York: Jonathan Leavitt. 12mo. pp. 358.

Questions to Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History. Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins. 12mo. pp. 32.

The Irish School System: an Article from the Princeton Review for January, 1842. Princeton: Robert E. Hornor. 8vo. pp. 35.

A Letter from a Gentleman of Baltimore to his Friend in the State of New York, on the Subject of Slavery. Baltimore: Sherwood & Co. 12mo. pp. 12.

A Speech on International Copyright, delivered at the Dinner to Charles Dickens, at the City Hotel, New York, February 19, 1842. By Cornelius Matthews. New York: George L. Curry & Co. 12mo. pp. 16.

Speech of Robert Wickliffe, Jr., (of Fayette,) on the Veto Power, delivered in the House of Representatives, on the 26th January, 1842. Lexington, Ky. Observer Office. 8vo. pp. 23.

An Account of the Origin of the Mississippi Doctrine of Repudiation; with a Review of the Arguments which His Excellency Alexander G. McNutt, late Governor of Mississippi, advanced in its Vindication. By a Member of the Boston Bar. Boston: Bradbury, Soden, & Co. 8vo. pp. 28.

Insanity and Insane Asylums. By Edward Jarvis, M. D. Louisville, Ky.: Prentice & Weissinger. 8vo. pp. 40.

Syllabus to Lectures on Chemistry. By Charles Upham Shepard, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in the Medical College of the State of South Carolina, and Lecturer on Natural History in Yale College. Charleston S. C.: S. Babcock & Co. 8vo. pp. 204.

MUSIC.

Parlour Melodies, comprising Music, Original and Selected, for the Pianoforte and Organ, with several Tunes for the Harp and Guitar. Adapted to a series of Original Songs, Moral and Religious. Arranged and edited by Mrs. M. B. Lloyd, and Miss M. E. Bailey. New York: Harper & Brothers. 4to. pp. 112.

Vocal Exercises and Solfeggios, with an Accompaniment for the Pianoforte. Adapted to the Wants of Private Pupils, or Classes in Vocal Music. Selected from Italian, French, and German Composers, by Lowell Mason. Boston: J. K. Wilkins & R. B. Carter. 8vo. pp. 56.

The Amateur's Musical Library; a Collection of Pianoforte Music, and Songs; embracing the most Popular Airs from the latest Operas, consisting of Cavatinas, Waltzes, Marches, Quicksteps, Cotillions, and many New Pieces by the Editor; as well as a large Number of Songs, Duetts, Trios, Quartettes, &c. The whole selected from the most distinguished European Authors; including also Numerous Original Compositions by Celebrated Authors in the United States. Edited by Charles Jarvis, Professor of the Pianoforte, and Organist and Leader of the Choir at the Church of the Epiphany. Philadelphia: Godey & McMichael. 8vo. pp. 200.

The Northern Harp; consisting of Original Sacred and Moral Songs, adapted to the most Popular Melodies, for the Pianoforte and Guitar. By Mrs. Mary S. B. Dana, Author of "The Southern Harp," &c. New York: Dayton & Saxton. 4to. pp. 100.

NEW PERIODICAL.

Wiley and Putnam's Literary News-Letter, and Monthly Register of New Books, Foreign and American. Published on the First of every Month, at 161 Broadway, New York. 8vo. pp. 8. Nos. 1, 2, 3.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

Virginia; or the Lost and Found. A Tale. By the Author of "Constance, or the Merchant's Daughter." New York: Dayton & Saxton. 24mo. pp. 180.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

Christian Missions; an Introductory Lecture, delivered before the Boston Young Men's Society for diffusing Missionary Knowledge, December 29th, 1841. By Benjamin Franklin Butler. Boston: T. R. Marvin. 8vo. pp. 24.

The Obstacles and the Encouragements to Missionary Effort, in

the Ancient and Modern Church. A Lecture delivered before the Boston Young Men's Society for diffusing Missionary Knowledge. By Samuel W. Fisher, West Bloomfield, New Jersey. Published by Request. Boston: Tappan & Dennet. 8vo. pp. 43.

A Lecture on the Life of Dr. Franklin, by the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, A. M., as delivered by him at the Liverpool Royal Amphitheatre, on Wednesday Evening, 17th November, 1841; with the Addition of a Prefatory Notice to the Reader, by John B. Murray, Esq., of New York. New York: Henderson Greene. 8vo. pp. 47.

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